CUK - H 06236 - 18 - P 35644

BRITISH MUSEUM QUARTERLY

VOLUME XVII : 1952

903
.002/2

18

THE BRITISH MUSEUM QUARTERLY

VOLUME XVII: 1952

18

PUBLISHED BY
THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM
LONDON
1952

P 35,644

Sold at

THE BRITISH MUSEUM

and by

BERNARD QUARITCH LTD., 11 *Grafton Street*
London, W. 1

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 200 *Euston Road*
London, N.W. 1

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO., LTD.
43 *Great Russell Street, London, W.C.* 1

H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE, *York House, Kingsway*
London, W.C. 2

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
BY CHARLES BATEY, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

CONTENTS

Sir Frederic Kenyon, G.B.E., K.C.B. 63

DEPARTMENT OF PRINTED BOOKS

Additions to the Philatelic Collections, 1948–50 1

Manuscripts and Printed Books from the Holkham Hall Library

1. The Library 23
2. The Manuscripts 25
3. The Printed Books 33
4. Notes on the Bindings of the Holkham Books 39

Lili Marleen 41

The Harmsworth *Alice* 77

DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS

Sir John Fenwick Papers 2

Finnegans Wake 4

Manuscripts and Printed Books from the Holkham Hall Library:
See entries under DEPARTMENT OF PRINTED BOOKS

DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL PRINTED BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS

Two Documents of the First China War 5

A Telugu Plate 43

DEPARTMENT OF PRINTS AND DRAWINGS

A Leaf from a Flemish Sketchbook of the Early Sixteenth Century 8

A Drawing by Hieronymus Bosch 45

Supplement to the Catalogue of Italian Drawings, XIV–XV Centuries 61

DEPARTMENT OF COINS AND MEDALS

An English Gold Penny 10

A Portrait Plaque of Charles I 11

Medals from the Bute Sale 11

Roman Coins 46

DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES

Bronzes from the Raphael Bequest 12
South Arabian Sculptures 47
Two Egyptian Statuettes 71

DEPARTMENT OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

A Chalcidian Neck-Amphora 13
A Red-figured Pelike 73

DEPARTMENT OF BRITISH AND MEDIEVAL ANTIQUITIES

A Late-Saxon Silver Disk-Brooch from the Isle of Ely 15
An Early Christian Silver Vase 16
British Museum Excavation at Hod Hill, Dorset 49
The Stanwick Sword 50
The Fuller Brooch 75
Chelsea Porcelain Vase 79

DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL ANTIQUITIES

Persian Miniatures bequeathed by Sir Bernard Eckstein 17
A Grave Guardian from Ch'ang-sha 52
Sandstone Head from Siam 57
Recent Acquisitions of Islamic Pottery 80

DEPARTMENT OF ETHNOGRAPHY

Divining Bowl from the Bavenda, S. Africa 20
An Ancient Maori Bone-chest 58

PLATES

I. Leaf from a Sketchbook: Anon. Flemish Draughtsman, Sixteenth century — *To face page* 4

II. 1. Gold Penny of Edward the Confessor
2. Plaque of Charles I
3–4. Medals from the Bute Sale — „ 5

III. Bronzes and a Steatite Handle from the Raphael Bequest — „ 10

IV. A Chalcidian Neck-Amphora — „ 11

V. *a*. Early Christian Silver Vase
b. Late Saxon Brooch from Sutton, Isle of Ely — „ 14

VI. Persian Drawings from the Eckstein Bequest
a. Tinted Drawing of the Queen of Sheba: about 1600
b. Ink Design in Chinese taste: probably fifteenth century — „ 15

VII. Bavenda Divining Bowl: S. Africa — „ 18

VIII. Bavenda Divining Bowl: S. Africa
a. Undersurface
b. Side view, showing Knuckle Bones and Bag — „ 19

IX. The Bible Picture-Book: the Creator: Early fourteenth century

X. Treatise presented by Walter de Milemete to Edward III, A.D. 1326–7

XI. *a*. The Schuttern Gospels: Early ninth century
b. The Cluny Cicero: Early ninth century

XII. Bible owned by the Anti-Pope Clement VII: Mid-fourteenth century

XIII. A Page from *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, Utrecht, *c*. 1470

XIV. A Page from a Blockbook: the Biblia Pauperum, *c*. 1465

XV. *The Crafte to Lyve Well and to Dye Well:* Wynkyn de Worde, 1505

XVI. A Binding executed for Thomas Mahieu, Secretary to Queen Catharine de' Medici

Following page 40

XVII. A Telugu Plate recording acts of a Governing Body of the Five Classes of Craftsmen — *Frontispiece to No. 3*

XVIII. Drawing by Hieronymus Bosch: *The Entombment*

XIX. Roman Coins

XX. *a.* Bust of a woman, holding a sheaf of corn: South Arabian: about second century A.D.
b. Head of a bull-calf: South Arabian: about second century A.D.

XXI. *a.* Bronze statuettes in native and in Greek style: South Arabian
b. Head of a man, from South Arabia: about second century A.D.
c. Early Iron Age sword and scabbard from Stanwick, North Riding, Yorkshire

XXII. Hod Hill, Dorset: The Roman Fort, from the north

XXIII. Sepulchral Figure with deer's antlers: excavated at Ch'ang-sha, Hunan Province, Central China; fourth or third century B.C.

XXIV. Head of Buddha: Siamese: Lopburi style: Early thirteenth century

XXV. Ancient Maori Bone-chest

Following page 60

SUPPLEMENT TO THE CATALOGUE OF ITALIAN DRAWINGS, XIV–XV CENTURIES

Plate No.	*Catalogue No.*	
I.	57*a* recto, 57*a* verso	Attributed to Francesco di Simone
II.	231*a*	After Cosimo Rosselli
III.	257*a*	Vecchietta, or Studio of Vecchietta
IV.	257*b*, *c*, *d*, *e*	Studio of Vecchietta

Following page 64

XXVI. Sir Frederic Kenyon, G.B.E., K.C.B. — *Frontispiece to No. 4*

XXVII. *a.* Wooden Statuette of the Middle Kingdom
b. Basalt Statuette of the Ptolemaic Period

Following page 82

XXVIII. A Red-figured Pelike: Main Scene

XXIX. A Red-figured Pelike
a–c. Details of Main Scene
d, e. Handle Ornament
f–i. Reverse

XXX. The Fuller Brooch

XXXI. Chelsea Porcelain Vase

XXXII. *a.* Dish decorated in blue and black: Persian, about 1260 A.D.
b. Bowl decorated in lustre: Mesopotamian, about 850–900 A.D.

Following page 82

CALCU... CENTRAL LIBRARY ... UNIVER...

ADDITIONS TO THE PHILATELIC COLLECTIONS, 1948–1950

IN addition to the Mosely collection of British African stamps there have been some outstanding presentations to the philatelic collections of the Museum, notably the three described in this article.

In December 1948 Mr. G. L. Walker, of St. Ives, Boston Spa, Yorkshire, made a gift of a collection of the postage stamps employed in the Channel Islands during the German occupation, 1940–4. The collection is mounted in two volumes. There were sufficient supplies of the normal British stamps to last for some months when the Germans invaded the islands in June 1940, but by the end of the year the stocks of the 1*d.* stamps were exhausted in Guernsey, and the postmaster, therefore, gave permission for the 2*d.* stamps to be bisected and each half used as a 1*d.* stamp. The collection contains a fine lot of these make-shifts used on envelopes on each of the days their use was permitted. Arrangements were made for the production of stamps of a more permanent character, and Mr. E. W. Vaudin, a local artist, drew a design. The original drawing for this 1*d.* stamp is in the collection. Later on, two other denominations, ½*d.* and 2½*d.*, were prepared and issued. The collection includes complete sheets of the various printings of each of the three denominations, as well as a series of used examples. Similar stamps were issued in the neighbouring island of Jersey, but here there were only two values, ½*d.* and 1*d.*, both of which were designed by Major N. V. L. Rybot. He incorporated in the design the letters 'AA', standing for 'Atrocious Adolf', and 'BB', for 'Bloody Benito'. Although the significance of these letters was known to some of the islanders, the Germans never suspected that they were other than ornamental parts of the design. In 1943 a series of six denominations, ½*d.* to 3*d.*, was printed in France for use in Jersey; these stamps showed views on the island. Practically every one of the different printings is represented in the collection by a complete sheet of unused stamps as well as some used examples.

Towards the end of 1949 Mrs. Clement Williams, of Sonning, Berkshire, presented the collection of Railway Letter Stamps formed by her brother, the late Herbert L'Estrange Ewen. Mr. Ewen was among the first to make a collection of these special railway stamps, and he missed no opportunity of acquiring specimens which his collection lacked. In 1904 he bought the collection formed by the 26th Earl of Crawford, and incorporated that with his own. The collection was continued until Mr. Ewen's death in 1912 at the early age of thirty-six, after which it remained in the possession of his family. The collection which now passes into the care of the Museum is contained in 32 volumes and consists of 30,887 stamps, while a further volume includes letters and other documents relating to the formation of the collection. Practically all of the rarities of the period 1891–1912 are in the collection, which also contains a quantity of proof

material as well as some scarce documents dealing with the negotiations between the Post Office and the railway companies prior to the introduction of these special stamps in 1891. Mr. Ewen made a point of obtaining complete sheets of each printing, but where this was not possible he endeavoured to reconstruct the sheets from pairs of blocks. He also included used specimens from all parts of the British Isles to illustrate the ramifications and usefulness of this now-defunct service. Among the outstanding items in the collection are: an unused strip of three, and two singles, of the February 1891 issue of Barry Dock and Railways, believed to be the only surviving specimens of these stamps; five used specimens of the 1891 issue of the Finn Valley Railway Company (Ireland); and specimens of the rare first and third printings for the London, Chatham and Dover Railway. Mr. Ewen published *A History of Railway Letter Stamps*, and this monumental work of 431 pages is still the authority on these stamps for the period it covers.

In January of this year Miss Nora Kay, of Gerrards Cross, Bucks., and Mr. F. R. Kay presented to the Museum the collection of British Empire Fiscal and Revenue stamps formed by their father, the late Mr. A. B. Kay. For more than forty years, until his death in 1944, Mr. A. B. Kay was the leading authority on this branch of philatelic study, and, indeed, was the compiler of the recognized catalogue of British Empire Fiscal and Revenue stamps, a work based largely on the collection which has now been presented to the Museum. In addition to the stamps the collection is rich in proofs, and this is particularly noticeable in the Indian section, which has been specialized. The numerous issues of the Australian Colonies (New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, and Western Australia) are particularly well represented, and so also are those of Mauritius, Jamaica, New Zealand, Straits Settlements, and Transvaal. The collections of the Orange Free State and Orange River Colony include some of the early embossed stamps and a fine series of those overprinted 'V.R.I.' during the South African War of 1899–1902. The King Edward VII issue of the Orange River Colony is preceded by the original 'made-up' design for the stamps and a number of colour trials. In addition to the fiscal and revenue stamps, the collection also includes examples of the special issues of telegraph stamps of many of the colonies.

H. R. HOLMES

SIR JOHN FENWICK PAPERS

SIR JOHN FENWICK is remembered as the last Englishman to suffer death in consequence of an Act of Attainder. The extent of his guilt and the equity of the proceedings against him were matters of fierce controversy at the time. But there can be little doubt that, though not personally engaged in the plot to assassinate King William III in February 1696, he was one of the most active, influential, and dangerous of the Jacobites in England. Two thousand

horse, wrote Berwick in his *Memoirs*, were ready to take the field so soon as King James and a French force should set foot in England, and Fenwick was to take command of them.

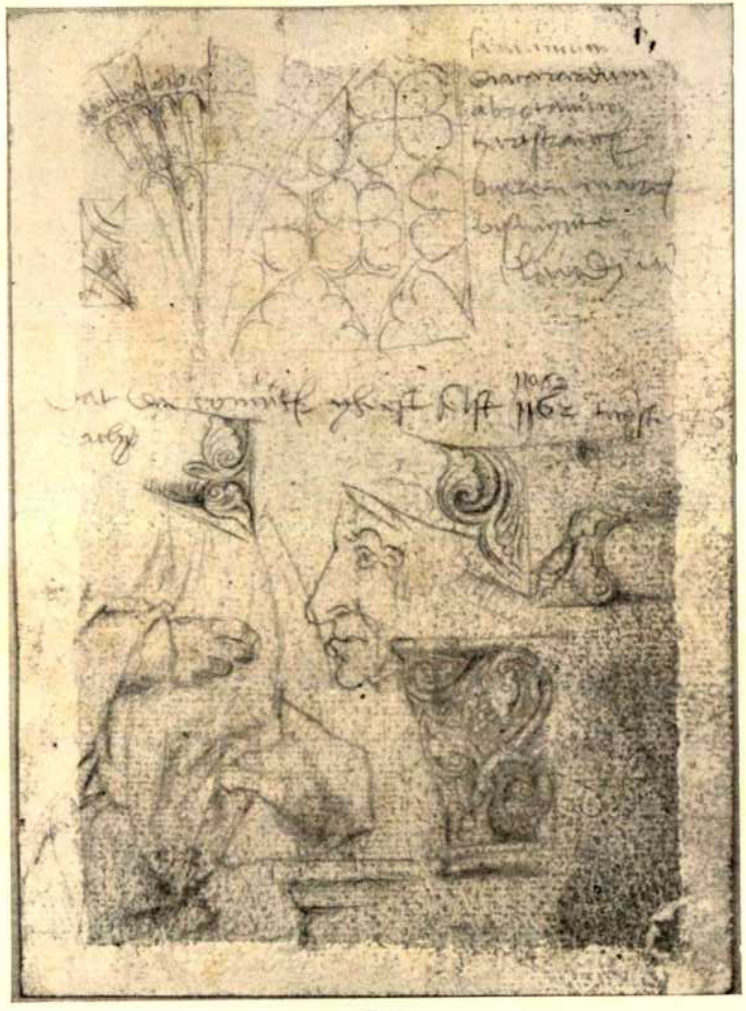
The proceedings upon the Bill of Attainder in both Houses of Parliament were published in full after Fenwick's execution, and the principal facts in the case are not in question. Very little of Fenwick's own correspondence, however, is known to survive, and the gift of Mr. J. A. K. Ferns (through the Historical Manuscripts Commission), by which the Museum now receives its first examples of Fenwick's handwriting and what appears to be the only important collection of his personal papers in existence, is therefore especially welcome. The papers, which have only recently come to light, and now bear the number Additional MS. 47608, evidently remained in the hands of Fenwick's widow after his death, and consist mostly of her correspondence during the period between his arrest in June 1696 and his execution on 27 January following, together with other miscellaneous papers relating to his trial, and a biographical sketch of him, partly in her hand. Throughout this period Lady Mary Fenwick, a sister of the Earl of Carlisle and allied to many great families, made such strenuous efforts to save her husband's life, that, according to Bishop White, her 'wonderfull zeale & prudence in menaging [his] cause . . . spread over all this Nation & indeed over all Europe'. Among her correspondents are the Duke of Devonshire ('he has done mighty well in my business throughout', writes Fenwick), the Dukes of Norfolk and Ormonde, and the Earls of Essex and Portland. But the most interesting of the letters remain those exchanged between husband and wife (two of hers and about forty of his, full of devoted and grateful affection) during the last three months of his life. After his examination by the king early in November (of which the present collection contains a detailed account), Fenwick was closely confined in Newgate and Lady Mary was refused access to him, though he was allowed to receive visits from his solicitor and counsel. He was also allowed pen and ink, but only in the hope that he might write a confession, and the scraps of paper on which he hastily scrawled his letters to his wife had to be smuggled into the prison. Though he stoutly maintained his innocence, Fenwick now had little hope of saving his life. 'Nothing but my blood will satisfie this man', he writes; and in another letter: 'My life I give for gon, my busines is to save my soule if I can.' To this task he addressed himself on the whole with courage and composure. In the last week of his life, after a personal appeal to Archbishop Tenison ('a dying man I hope will not be denied the assistance he desires most for the good of his soule'), he was permitted to receive the visits of Thomas White, non-juring Bishop of Peterborough, who later, at Lady Mary's request, sent her a long account of her husband's courageous end. 'A man may go to heaven,' concludes the Bishop, 'from a Scaffold as well as from A bed; and to dy by an Axe is much easyer than to dy of A feaver, or to live with Three or foure of my diseases.' A. MAYOR

FINNEGANS WAKE

JAMES JOYCE has been called by Mr. T. S. Eliot 'the greatest man of letters of my generation', and there can be no doubt that his *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* are major landmarks in the literature of the twentieth century. Of the former Mr. Eliot wrote at Joyce's death in 1941 that it 'still seems the most considerable work of imagination in English in our time, comparable in importance (though in little else) with the work of Marcel Proust'. In it Joyce attempted to combine a philosophical epic and a realistic novel, dealing simultaneously with an aspect of human life in general and with the individual lives of a few men and women, and to use language not only to describe but to evoke, in a direct way more familiar in music than in literature, the emotions of his characters.

In *Finnegans Wake*, where the flow of human life is symbolized by the flow of 'consciousness' through the mind of one man, a Dublin innkeeper, in the course of a night's sleep, Joyce seems to have achieved an even fuller fusion between epic and novel, and in order to evoke the confused speech and logic of his dreaming hero he has so far transformed ordinary language that it approximates very nearly to 'the condition of music'. He himself said little and published nothing in explanation of this complex and original work, and such commentary as has so far appeared has been based on the printed text alone. Students of modern literature will therefore be glad to learn that the surviving manuscript material has entered the Department of Manuscripts (as Add. MSS. 47471–89) as the gift of Miss Harriet Shaw Weaver, the friend and patron whose princely generosity enabled Joyce to complete *Ulysses*, which appeared in 1922, and to devote the next seventeen years to *Finnegans Wake*. During those years the book was known as *Work in Progress* and parts of it were published in advance, sometimes in periodicals such as *transition* and sometimes in book form. Some sections of it are represented in Miss Weaver's gift by as many as ten to fourteen states—drafts, fair copies, typescripts, proofs of the interim publications, proofs of the first edition—in most of which extensive additions have been made. This complex mass of material, on which any future study of Joyce's methods of work is bound to be based, has been arranged and concisely described by Miss Weaver, to whom the successive drafts were sent from time to time as they were superseded, some of them being still in the covers addressed to her by the author. Though some of the early drafts, the first of which dates from 10 March 1923, are far from easy to read, the clear handwriting of the fair copies and of the manuscript corrections to typescripts and proof-sheets is a splendid monument to the perseverance of a writer who was constantly impeded in his great undertaking by the threat of blindness.

Miss Weaver's generosity has also been extended to the Department of Printed Books, to which she has presented a number of translations of *Ulysses* and



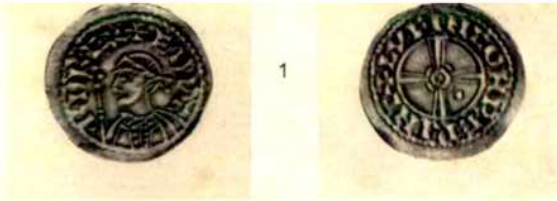
Recto

Verso

I. LEAF FROM A SKETCHBOOK: ANONYMOUS FLEMISH DRAUGHTSMAN, SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The High and mighty PRINCE CHARLES PRINCE of Great Britayne and Ireland Duke of Yorke and Albany Earle of Chester Knight of the most noble order of the Garter

2



1

3

4

of other works by Joyce together with a complete set of the *Egoist* and its predecessor, the *New Freewoman*, which was edited by Miss Weaver from 1914 to 1919 and in which were serialized Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and parts of *Ulysses*. T. J. BROWN

TWO DOCUMENTS OF THE FIRST CHINA WAR

IN September 1951 the Trustees bought from Miss Lucy Gough, of Blythebank, Duns, Berwickshire, two documents in the Chinese language formerly in the possession of Field-Marshal Lord Gough (1779–1869) who, as Sir Hugh Gough, was British Commander-in-Chief in China from 1841 to 1842.

The first of these documents is written on five strips of common Chinese paper stuck together to form a single piece measuring 9½ by 18 inches. It begins as follows:

> To His Honour Mr. Kuo: Chou Tê-jung presents his loyal duty. On the 3rd of the 10th moon, I received a confidential letter from Your Honour, containing instructions to investigate the military dispositions in the district of Tz'ŭhsi. On the 4th, Li Mao and myself examined the situation, and I now have the honour to report as follows.

Then there comes an insertion not well in keeping with the formal tone of this preamble: 'You must give me 400 taels reward. So long as you are fair to me, I'll be fair to you, but if you treat me badly, I'll call everything off.'

After this slightly menacing appeal come some notes on the walled town of Tz'ŭhsi, which we are told has government stores of rice and money, and another walled place called Kuanhaiwei in the same district, with their distances from Ningpo (Tz'ŭhsi is said to be a march of 40 li, or between 13 and 14 miles) and particulars of the chief district officials civil and military. The report continues: 'Between one and two hundred spies have been sent from Hangchow, unarmed and disguised as ordinary country people, to infiltrate into official residences in Ningpo and find out military information. Of these, half have already gone back to Hangchow to report.' The writer ends: 'If Your Honour comes with me to Tz'ŭhsi, we must bring 2,000 troops. The northern part of Tz'ŭhsi district, owing to its position on the coast, is of great importance. You must go with me secretly, and I have some plans which we can discuss on the way. But, Mr. Kuo, you must keep this to yourself and not let any word of it leak out.'

On the back are inscribed the words, in English written with a Chinese brush, 'Dirrections [*sic*] for marching upon Tzeke.'

The second document consists of four strips of common Chinese paper stuck together to form a single piece measuring 9½ by 36 inches. On this there is drawn a plan showing a route of march from Ningpo to Tz'ŭhsi and Kuanhaiwei with an indication of the road from there to Chênhai. The directions are in the

same hand as the first document and there is a note: 'To His Honour Mr. Kuo: please let me have 400 taels reward at once.' On the back is written in English, with a pen, 'Szeke map and directions'.

It is clear that these documents were written in Ningpo, during the British occupation of that city, by a Chinese Chou Tê-jung who was working for the British. As the British held Ningpo from 13 October 1841 to 6 May 1842, the date, the 3rd of the 10th moon, mentioned at the head of the first document, must be referred to the 21st year of Tao-kuang, and corresponds therefore to 15 November 1841.

Mr. Kuo T'ing-i in the second volume of his *History of Modern China* (*Chin tai chung kuo shih*: 2nd ed., Shanghai, 1947) gives many quotations from Chinese material on the first Anglo-Chinese war. Some of the passages he cites throw more light on these documents than is given by the British accounts of the war.

First, as to the Mr. Kuo to whom the documents are addressed. Sir Hugh Gough himself was well known to the Chinese by the surname of Kuo, and issued proclamations under that name to the inhabitants of Ningpo during the occupation (Kuo T'ing-i, vol. ii, p. 384). But it is almost certain that the Mr. Kuo of our documents was not Sir Hugh Gough, but the German missionary and traveller Karl Gützlaff (1803–51). Gützlaff, who is important for having directed foreign attention to the advantages that Shanghai would offer as a port of international trade, was with the British forces in Ningpo throughout the occupation. The British accounts tend to represent his position as merely that of interpreter. On the other hand, an anonymous German biographer says that the British appointed Gützlaff burgomaster of Ningpo (*Karl Gützlaff's Leben und Heimgang*, Berlin, 1851, p. 26). In any case, it is obvious that Gützlaff, with his knowledge of Chinese, must have been almost the sole intermediary between the Chinese population and the British military authorities.

On 18 January 1842 the imperial kinsman I-ching, who had been given command against the British in Chêkiang, but who was awaiting reinforcements at Soochow, wrote in a memorial to the throne: 'It appears that until now Ningpo has been under the control of Kuo Shih-li (one of Gützlaff's Chinese names), but now he has been replaced by the Chinese traitor Liang Jên, who is in charge of everything' (Kuo T'ing-i, vol. ii, p. 382). Last of all, the manner of address is more suitable to a civilian than to a soldier. On the whole, therefore, there is little doubt that the documents were written for Gützlaff.

It would be almost hopeless to try and find out anything about the writer Chou Tê-jung, if that indeed was his real name. It is clear from the Chinese sources quoted by Kuo T'ing-i that the British had no lack of helpers among the Chinese population. But when I-ching, in the memorial quoted above, goes on to say: 'There are many Chinese traitors with the British. . . . Every day they are examining books, especially gazetteers of Chekiang, from the T'ien i ko library of

the Fan family in Ningpo (one of the most celebrated libraries in China). . . . In this work, the most zealous of the Chinese traitors is a man named Li, who is a native of Ningpo', it is not an improbable guess that he is referring to the Li Mao who helped Chou Tê-jung in the preparation of these documents. At least Chou seems to assume that Li Mao is known to his foreign employer as a man well acquainted with local geography, and a worker in the British interest.

As regards spies sent into Ningpo by the Chinese authorities in Hangchow, they seem to have been sufficiently active for the British to have issued at least one proclamation threatening death not only to the spies themselves but to all Chinese who harboured them (Kuo T'ing-i, vol. ii, p. 383). It is worth noticing that Kuo T'ing-i (p. 383) says that the spies passed their information to the magistrate of Tz'ŭhsi for transmission to Hangchow.

Tz'ŭhsi is in the British accounts commonly called Tzekee. It was twice entered by the British. The first time was on 31 December 1841. Of this occasion, in anticipation of which our documents must have been prepared, Robert S. Rait in his *Life and Campaigns of Hugh, 1st Viscount Gough* (1903, vol. i, p. 233) says: 'Large bodies of Chinese troops were gathering in the neighbouring towns, and the General could not leave them to choose their own time and opportunity of attacking him. He therefore made, in the end of December 1841, an expedition to Yuyow and Tzekee. The movement was successfully carried out, and it effected its purpose of spreading consternation in the Fukien [*sic*] province and of relieving the pressure on Ningpo. Otherwise it possesses little or no importance.' A Chinese account says the British appeared outside the East Gate of the town and then 'A hundred or more of the barbarians mounted the wall by means of bamboo ladders and then swarmed down on the inside and opened the gate for the rest. . . . They made their way straight to the district offices and plundered them and then set the buildings on fire. . . . They then withdrew from the town, got into their boats and returned to Ningpo' (Kuo T'ing-i, vol. ii, p. 388).

The second attack on Tz'ŭhsi took place on 15 March 1842, after the repulse, a few days earlier, of a Chinese assault on Ningpo. Again the town was entered, and this time a very severe defeat was inflicted on a large force of Chinese troops, stationed on the hills behind the town, by a strategy on the part of Sir Hugh Gough which, says Rait (vol. i, p. 253), 'has received more praise than any other action in the war'. On 19 March 1842, the Chinese Commander-in-chief I-ching and his second-in-command gave an account of this battle in a memorial to the throne. They said that they had been greatly hampered by the activity of Chinese traitors, thanks to whose assistance the British could find their way about the countryside with much greater ease than could the Chinese government forces (Kuo T'ing-i, vol. ii, p. 394).

It should be remarked that by one of the articles of the Treaty of Nanking it

was agreed that the Chinese Government should grant an amnesty to all Chinese who had worked for the British.

The documents have been registered as Or. 12016 A and B. H. McAleavy

A LEAF FROM A FLEMISH SKETCHBOOK OF THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY

THE Department of Prints and Drawings has recently acquired a sheet of figure and architectural studies by a Flemish draughtsman of the early part of the sixteenth century. The sheet measures 13.3 by 9.4 cm. ($5\frac{3}{8}$ by $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.), and is evidently a leaf from a sketchbook, the *recto* being numbered 171 in a considerably later hand in the upper right-hand corner. Both sides are drawn upon, the *recto* in metal-point, the *verso* in pen and ink.

Clearly the artist was making notes for future reference, much in the same spirit as Villard de Honnecourt two centuries earlier; and what is of especial interest is that he was making at least some of these notes in England. In the upper left-hand corner of the *recto* is a sketch of part of an English fan vault (distinctly a novelty to continental eyes), with attendant window-tracery, and alongside, on a much smaller scale, a roughly noted plan of the complete vault.

This fan-vaulting is of a late type, with rows of cinquefoil arched panels surmounted by fleur-de-lis cresting, which can be associated with the work of the royal mason, John Wastell, in the eastern chapels of Peterborough Cathedral (about 1496–1508), the central tower of Canterbury Cathedral (about 1505), and the nave and side-chapels of King's College Chapel, Cambridge (1512–15).[1] The vaulting in the present drawing does not fit exactly with any of these; but Mr. John Harvey[2] has pointed out that the peculiar window-tracery which accompanies it, with its four-lobed compartments, has something in common with that of several of the side-chapel windows at King's College (though these are four-centred instead of two-centred as in the drawing), and the juxtaposition of this tracery with a Wastell type of fan-vault certainly suggests a possible connexion with this building.

The inscription in Flemish below has, too, a distinctly royal flavour: *Dat De coninck gheft selft* $^{jj06z}_{jj6z}$ [z = 2?] . . . [one word not deciphered[3]] 6 *dachx* [That The king himself gives 1162 (corrected to 11062?) . . . 6 days], but, without knowing the missing word, it is impossible to determine the nature of this gift.

[1] F. E. Howard in *The Archaeological Journal*, lxviii (1911), pl. xii.

[2] The writer would also like to acknowledge his indebtedness to his colleagues in the Print Room and the Department of Manuscripts, as well as to the following, to whom the drawing has been submitted: Mr. C. F. Bell, Mr. Kenneth Harrison, Dr. Keevil, Miss Lothian, Prof. F. Lyna, Dr. Otto Paecht, Prof. Geoffrey Webb, Prof. Francis Wormald, and Dr. George Zarnecki.

[3] Prof. Wormald has suggested that this might read *fingstens* = Whitsun.

In the upper right-hand corner is a list of words, part Latin, part Flemish—or perhaps rather Low German—which seem to be ingredients for some aromatic preparation: *sarmentum* [twigs or oil of juniper], *draconardum* or *diacarardum* [not identified], *abrotanum* [southernwood], *hartsrauck* [resin smoke], *binzenmarck* [rush pith, this having been used occasionally as material for candle wicks in former times], *bisanynce*? [not identified], *claudicus*? [lame? (but this seems irrelevant)].

On the lower half of the page are part of a draped figure turned to right and the head of a man with a long pointed nose in profile to left, together with details of the carved base and capital of a Romanesque column. These latter are considered to be southern English of about 1170.

The *verso* of the leaf is filled with studies of heads[1]: warriors in fancifully winged sallets, old men in conical hats and turbans, and two women in head-dresses with high curving peaks. They are typical of the costumes in which the Antwerp mannerists of the early sixteenth century delighted to dress their Biblical and Classical personages, in an attempt to give them an exotic or eastern appearance. Here again, with the association of fan vaulting and Antwerp mannerism, it would be tempting to see some connexion with King's College. The later glass there, in the windows of the Choir and East End, executed under the direction of the Flemish glazier, Gallyon Hoone of Southwark, between 1526 and 1531, certainly contains figures with these types of head-dresses—for instance, in the East Window there are several old men in conical hats or turbans and soldiers in fantastic helmets, and in Window IX, South Side,[2] one of the Maries at the Sepulchre wears a high curving peak and eye-veil. But none of the heads in the glass corresponds exactly with any of those in the drawing; and it must be remembered that such types are the common property of the Antwerp school.

Stylistically the handling of the studies on the verso has certain affinities with a sheet of heads on a much larger scale, in the Print Room, by the Antwerp painter, Jan de Beer (b. about 1475: d. before 1536), but there is no evidence that this artist came to England. It is difficult to say whether the present sketches are copies after some existing composition or are original studies. Certainly the latter is suggested by the two heads in the lower right-hand corner, which appear to be of the same man seen full face with the front of his head-dress arranged in two different ways; and, to the left of these, by the three bearded old men in conical hats, which also seem to be essays for a single figure in different positions.

[1] These show some affinity with the studies of heads in a dismembered sketchbook attributed to Gerard David, first published by Martin Conway (*Burlington Magazine*, xiii (1908), 155), and, more fully, by Prof. F. Winkler (*Pantheon*, iii (1929), 271 ff.).

[2] Robert Willis and J. W. Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, 1886, vol. i, p. 506.

On the other hand, one of these very heads of old men, as well as another in a hood nearer the top of the page, are both cut off sharp by a vertical line on the right, as if looking out from a window or from behind a pillar, thus giving the impression of having been copied from something else.

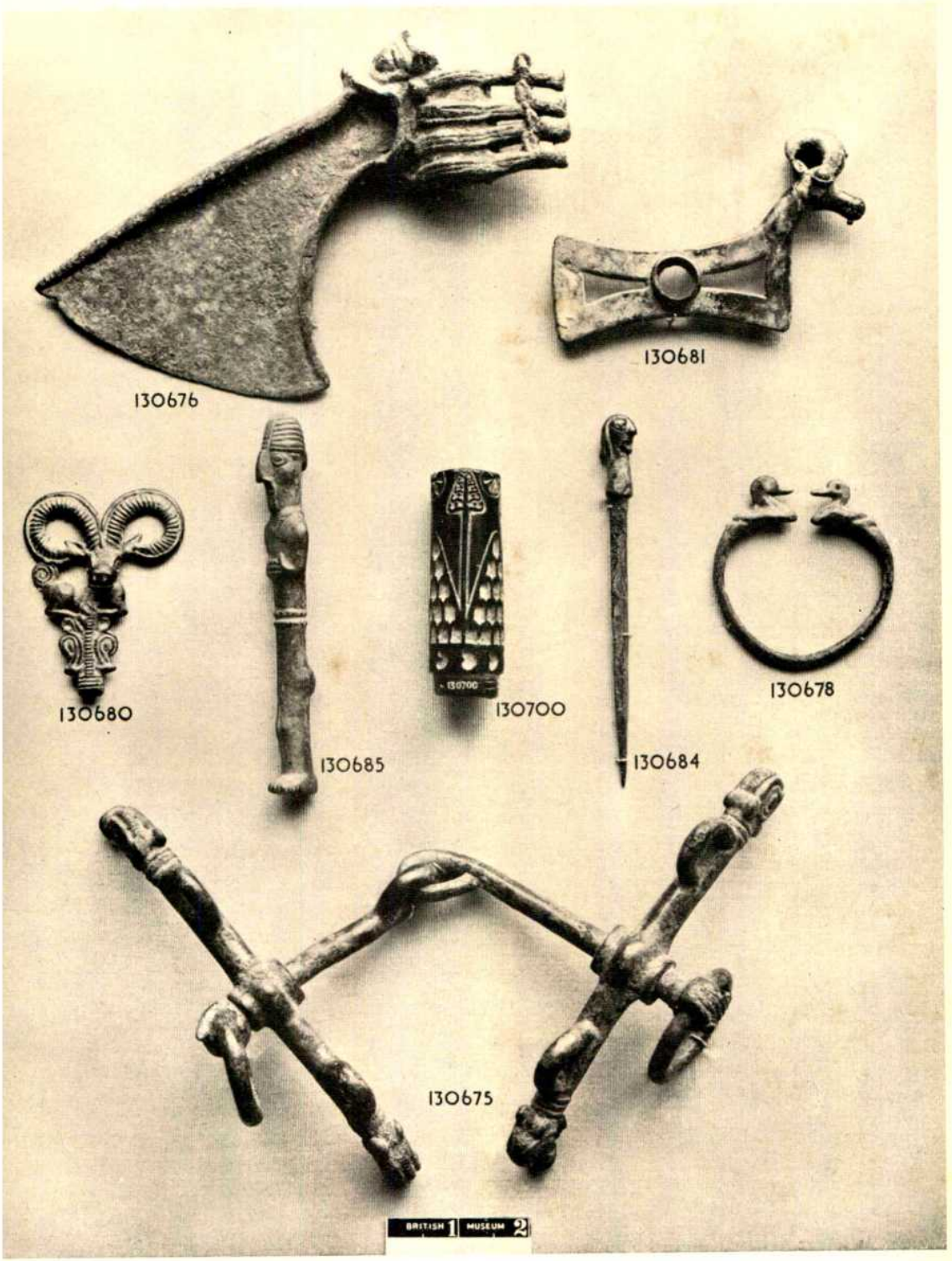
After becoming detached from the sketchbook, the leaf was ruled round the margin of the *verso* and possibly trimmed, preparatory to mounting. At perhaps the same time it was inscribed in a late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century hand: *tsie*, the significance of which is not clear. Subsequently it found its way into a small scrapbook, containing mostly drawings by Scottish artists of the early nineteenth century, which belonged to Lady Jane Dundas (d. 1897, daughter of the 8th Earl of Wemyss and wife of Col. Philip Dundas). The scrapbook was bequeathed by her to her niece, Lady Anne Charteris (daughter of the 9th Earl), and from her descended to Mrs. V. Frere, from whom the drawing was acquired by the Museum in 1951. It is hoped that its publication may lead to the discovery of other leaves from the same sketchbook, and thus perhaps throw some light on the identity of the author of this interesting relic of Anglo-Flemish artistic relations in the early Tudor period. EDWARD CROFT-MURRAY

AN ENGLISH GOLD PENNY

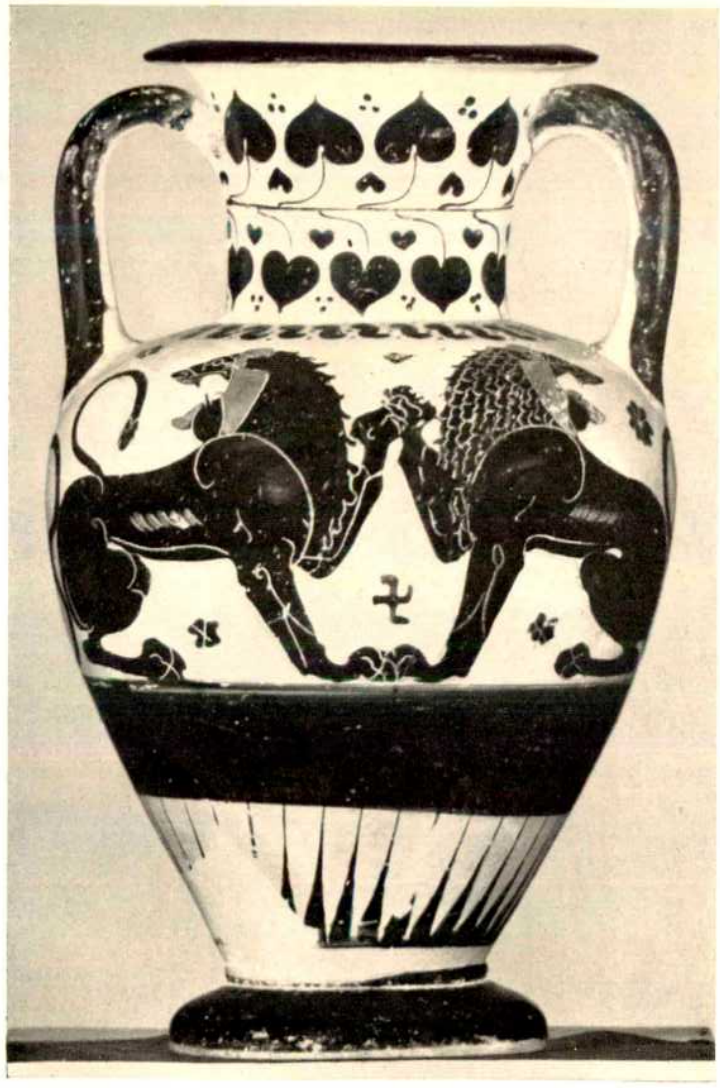
AFTER their earliest coinage, which was based upon late Roman and Merovingian models, had petered out in the seventh century, the Anglo-Saxons issued no more gold coins for current use. Once or twice, however, an occasional piece seems still to have been struck in gold on the pattern, and with the dies, of the current silver penny. The Museum already possesses one such of Ethelred II; another, of Edward the Elder, is in the Lausanne Museum; and now a third, from the Lockett collection (Pl. II, No. 1), has been generously presented to us by Mrs. R. C. Lockett in memory of her husband, the outstanding coin collector of his generation, and of his friendships with the staff of the Medal Room.

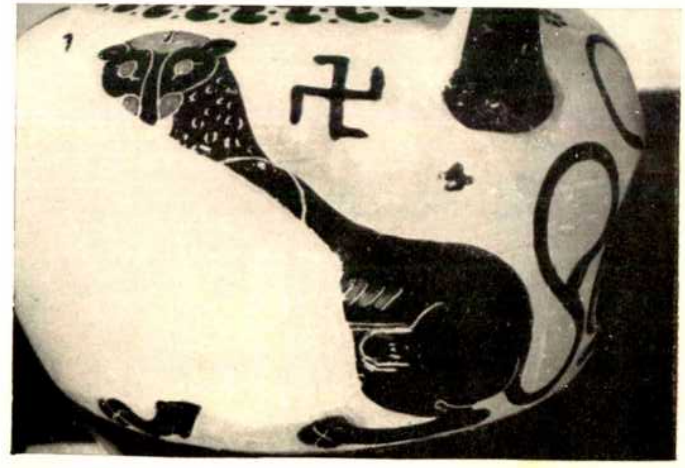
This coin bears the name and conventional portrait of Edward the Confessor, a diademed bust to left, holding a sceptre, with a cross on the other side encircled by the inscription LVFINC ON PERINC, denoting the moneyer and mint, Lifinc and Warwick. Its history is well documented: it was found upwards of a century and a half ago in taking down the walls of the old church of St. Clement's, Birmingham, and remained in the same family until purchased by Mr. Lockett in 1947.

What the purpose of such pieces may have been is not clear. It is an attractive suggestion that they were struck on occasion for the purpose of paying Peter's Pence to the Pope; and the fact that one example was found in Switzerland, the present one in a churchyard, and the famous gold mancus of Offa, which is in



III. BRONZES AND A STEATITE HANDLE FROM THE RAPHAEL BEQUEST





IV. A CHALCIDIAN NECK-AMPHORA

some ways a forerunner, in Rome, lends it support. On the other hand examples are so scarce that they should perhaps be regarded as trial pieces struck for the King's pleasure and for use as presents. Whatever its purpose, it is a piece of the greatest importance. E. S. G. R.

A PORTRAIT PLAQUE OF CHARLES I

ANOTHER important acquisition is an oval silver plaque (Pl. II, No. 2), formerly in the collection of Sir John Evans and presented by Dr. Joan Evans. It is engraved on the face with a charming equestrian portrait of Charles I as a boy, and the Prince of Wales's badge and motto on the back. He is represented as a youth of about fifteen, and described as '*The high & mighty PRINCE CHARLES PRINCE of Great Brittayn and Ireland Duke of Yorke and Albany and Knight of the most noble order of the Garter*'. The engraving is fine and delicate.

The plaque has already been the subject of a detailed publication by Lady Evans (*Num. Chron.* 1908, pp. 266 ff.), who drew attention to its close likeness, indeed identity, with the engraving by Renold Elstrack in its first state reproduced in Sidney Colvin's *Early Engraving and Engravers in England*, pl. xiv. The only differences lie in the transfer of the crest and motto to the reverse; and, doubtless owing to the reduced scale, the omission of certain details: e.g. the landscape background, the aigrette from the hat, and the title *Marquis of Ormont* from the legend. Lady Evans has suggested that the plaque as well as the engraving may be the work of Elstrack himself, and Mr. A. M. Hind who discusses it in his forthcoming work, *Engraving in England: XVI and XVII Centuries, Part 2* is inclined to agree. E. S. G. R.

MEDALS FROM THE BUTE SALE

THE sale of the Bute collection on 2 July 1951 provided an opportunity to fill several gaps in the collection of historical medals. Most important is the unique medal, cast in lead, of Henry VIII (Pl. II, No. 4), already published from this specimen by Hawkins, Franks, and Grueber (*Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain*, i, p. 30, no. 14). The king is represented in profile to left, still as a youngish man, and the legend runs *Henricus. VIII DG· Rex·Angl: Franc·Dom·H.* The reverse is smooth. It is a fine, flamboyant portrait, delicately modelled in spite of its roughish execution, and the style suggests continental influences.

The silver badge of Ferdinand, second Lord Halifax (Pl. II, No. 3, Hawkins, Franks and Grueber, ibid., p. 304, no. 125), who commanded the Parliamentary forces in the north at the beginning of the Civil War, is also extremely rare. The

reverse carries his arms in a wreath with the inscription *Ferd. Do. Fairefax Gener of the North*. The badge seems to have been issued as a military award during the time of Fairfax's command.

Other scarce pieces acquired were in silver, a marriage medal of Charles II (Hawkins, &c., ibid., p. 481, no. 82), a fine medal of William and Mary, commemorating the Pacification of Ireland (ibid., p. 722, no. 147); and a medal, unknown in lead, of William III, commemorating the capture of Huy in 1694 (cf. ibid. ii, p. 100, no. 325). E. S. G. R.

BRONZES FROM THE RAPHAEL BEQUEST

IN addition to the four already described in this *Quarterly*, vol. xv, there are several other notable bronzes among the antiquities bequeathed by the late Mr. O. C. Raphael. Like two of the former group, these all belong to the class of 'Luristan bronzes', and are remarkable not so much for novelty of form or decoration but for their workmanship and high condition—they are true collectors' pieces. A brief notice will suffice, for their appearance is best appreciated from the illustration (Pl. III), and there is no need to recapitulate what has been written about the Luristan bronzes both in the article cited above and in several preceding volumes of this periodical.

The axe-head (130676, 8 by 4¾ in.) with flanged, down-canted blade, ingeniously enlivened with animal-heads before and behind the socket, is of a familiar type, displaying the mastery of eccentric design in which these bronzes abound. A snaffle-bit (130675, 9 in. across, the sides 6½ in. long), with both useful and ornamental additions to the side-bars, is again a normal type, the snaffle-bit, with its linked bar, being always in much lighter style than the single-barred bits with heavy animal figures at the sides. An extreme contrast is provided by the massive specimen in the Raphael collection, vol. xv, pl. xxv. No. 130681 (4½ by 2 in.) is an uncommon, perhaps unique, variant of the animal-formed bit-plates; by a pleasing adaptation of the natural outline, the figure of a couchant goat has been stylized into a plain bow-shaped fitting. This happy inspiration has been quite lost upon a recent writer who, illustrating this or a perfectly similar piece in another collection, has regarded the goat's head as a ruinous irrelevance (*ganz unmotiviert*) to a good functional design. The two following smaller objects are also characteristic of the animal-style of Luristan: 130680 (2½ by 2 in.) is an excellent specimen of the bronze heads fitted upon long iron pins (missing here) which often take the form of this little horned sheep, the original of which is supposed to be a smaller variety of the moufflon. In this adaptation the muzzle and horns are cleverly developed to provide finger-holds for inserting and withdrawing the pin. No. 130678 (2¾ by 2½ in.) is a bronze wristlet, the confronting ends of its broken hoop modelled as ducks. Last come

two examples not of animal but of human form, and much less successful: 130685 (height $5\frac{1}{4}$ in.) is a mere travesty, but the absurd elongation is due to the use of this bronze as a support or handle, for it is traversed from top to bottom by a bore, widening toward the base. Another 'human' object is a stout bronze pin (130684, length $5\frac{1}{4}$ in.) surmounted by a human head upon a tapering neck. The expression is grotesque, or merely awkward, the hair falls in a pigtail and two side-locks. Both of the last two are conspicuously made of that hard smooth metal, silver-grey under a slight green patina, which was commonly employed by the smiths of Luristan; it is perhaps antimony-bronze.

One article of alien material appears among the bronzes on Pl. III. This (130700, height $3\frac{1}{5}$ in., diameter $\frac{15}{16}$ in.) is a hollow cylinder of dark grey steatite, with a narrow rebate at the bottom, for a band of precious metal. It was probably the mount or handle of a sceptre or weapon. The decoration is rendered in small regularly shaped recesses to take coloured inlays, of which only two fragments of bright red material remain in the rosettes. A conventional, but bold and effective, pattern surrounds the cylinder—'mountains' interspersed with single 'trees' and rosettes above, the whole surmounting a ring of 'kidneys' about the base. Its technique might be compared with the 'bull of heaven' bowl found at Ur and now in Philadelphia (replica, B.M. 116617); still more are the shapes of its cloisons like a steatite bowl fragment also found at Ur (B.M. 116458). But its nearest relation is a bowl of bituminous shale found at Susa,[1] which displays, between figures of couchant bisons, a series of 'mountains' and 'trees', marked especially by the almost identical convention for rendering the conifers. Dr. Contenau would date this bowl to the Third Dynasty of Ur (about 2100 B.C.), but admits the possibility of a still earlier origin (Dynasty of Agade, about 2300 B.C.). A like date may be suggested, and a like alternative allowed, for the ornament in the Raphael bequest.

C. J. GADD

A CHALCIDIAN NECK-AMPHORA

IN 1951 the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities acquired a new Chalcidian neck-amphora.[2] There is little information about its past history; the previous owner inherited it from his grandmother, who lived in Austria in the last century and formed a collection of antiquities, many of which came from Italy. The amphora may therefore have been purchased in Italy, but there is no evidence at all about its provenience.

The vase (Pl. IV)[3] has been broken and repaired; on one side the figures are

[1] Illustrated by G. Contenau, *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale*, ii, p. 787, fig. 550.

[2] On Chalcidian vases see Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen* (Leipsic, 1927); H. R. W. Smith, *The Origin of Chalcidian Ware*; T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, p. 252, note 1.

[3] Registration number 1951.2–6.1. Height, 29.1 cm. Greatest diameter, 18.0 cm. The clay is orange-brown, the glaze a very dark brown.

complete, with only minor retouching along the cracks, but on the other a good deal has been lost; fragments of the zone just above the foot are missing from all round the vase. Both sides are decorated with a pair of confronted animals, and as there is nothing to indicate that either was intended to be the principal face, for convenience the better-preserved side will be called the front. On it there are two lions, each with the off fore-paw raised and the head looking back toward the tail; on each of them red is used for the tongue, the ruff round the face, and a row of short lines along the ribs; the outline of the mane and muzzle is reinforced with incised lines. On the reverse are a sphinx and a panther. The sphinx sits facing to the right, her wings outspread: the top of her left wing is preserved just to the left of the panther's head. There is a broad red band down the middle of her right wing, and her hair is bound at the back with a double red cord; the outline of her hair is incised. The panther faces to the left; he too is seated and almost certainly had one fore-paw raised in the air. Red is used for his scalp and eyes, a patch on each side of his muzzle, and a row of short lines along his ribs; the outline of his face, scalp, and ears is incised. On each side incised rosettes and a swastika are used as filling ornament. On the shoulder of the vase is a ring of fat reversed S's, each divided from its neighbour by a row of three dots; round the neck is an ivy-wreath made up of large and small leaves, with berries set in clusters of three. The rim and top of the mouth, the outside of the handles, and the inside of the neck are glazed. Below the figures is a wide band of glaze and then a zone of rays, separated by a narrow reserved strip from the ring-moulding which covers the join between foot and body; the foot itself is an echinus, with a reserved line at the base.

The vase is by the Phineus painter;[1] it has, however, certain features which are rare or unparalleled in his work. His neck-amphorae normally have their figured decoration framed in a reserved panel on front and back, though one example resembles ours in having a continuous frieze.[2] In his normal version of the sphinx both wings lie behind the back, whether they have the earlier sickle shape or the naturalistic form.[3] He often employs the ivy-wreath as a pattern, but places it on the shoulder of a vase and gives the stems a sweeping double curve, beside which the rendering on our amphora looks hesitant.[4] The ornament round the base of the neck is unusual in Chalcidian vase-painting; one of the few known examples is on a sherd by the Leucippid painter, whose style Rumpf connects with that of the Phineus painter.[5] These irregularities suggest that the new vase may be an early work, painted before the artist's style was fully formed; if so, its date will be between 530 and 520 B.C.

P. E. CORBETT

[1] Rumpf, pp. 104–15; for the lions and the panther see p. 109; for the panther's head see also Smith, op. cit., pls. 20 and 22. The attribution is confirmed by many details; for the paws compare Rumpf, pls. 95 and 97; the swastika filling-ornament is also characteristic, for the Phineus painter is the only Chalcidian artist known to use it (Rumpf, p. 111).

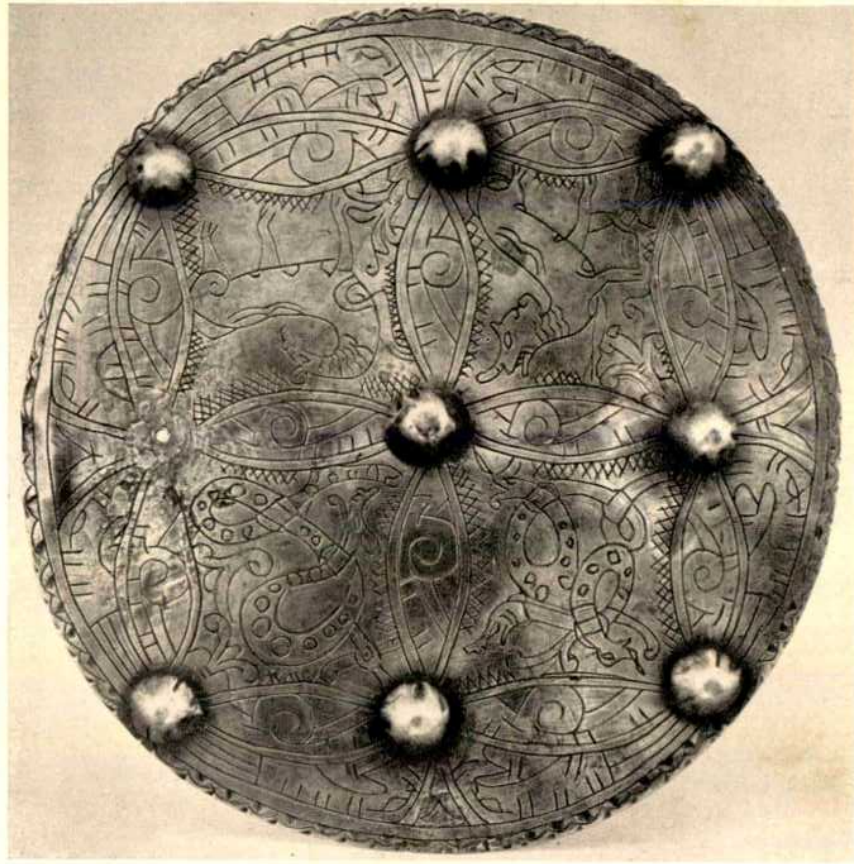
[2] Ibid., p. 178, fig. 8.

[3] Ibid., pls. 39, 95, 97, 159, 160.

[4] Ibid., pls. 158–64.

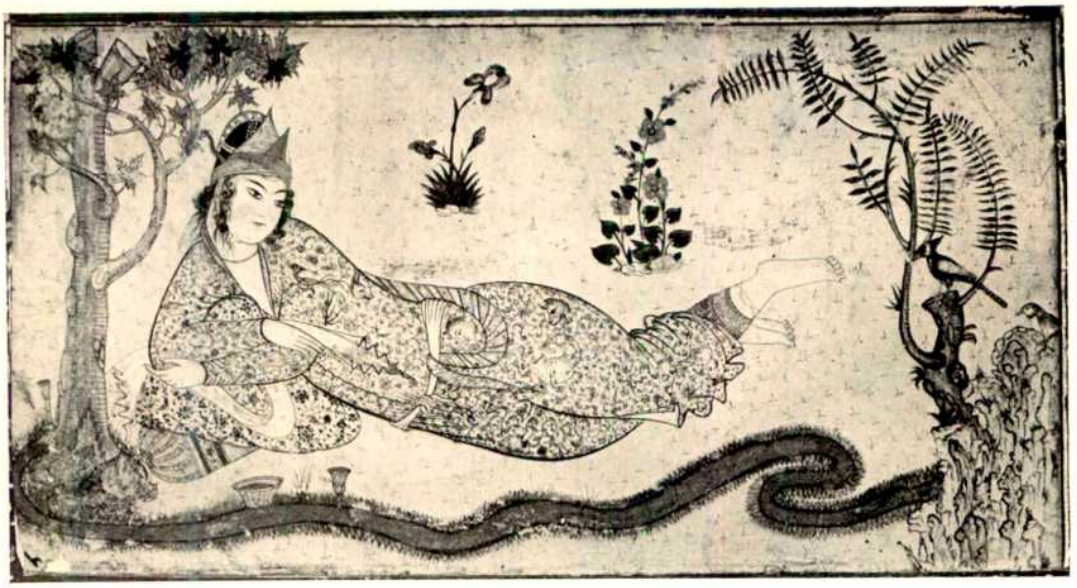
[5] Ibid., pl. 35 and p. 115.

a

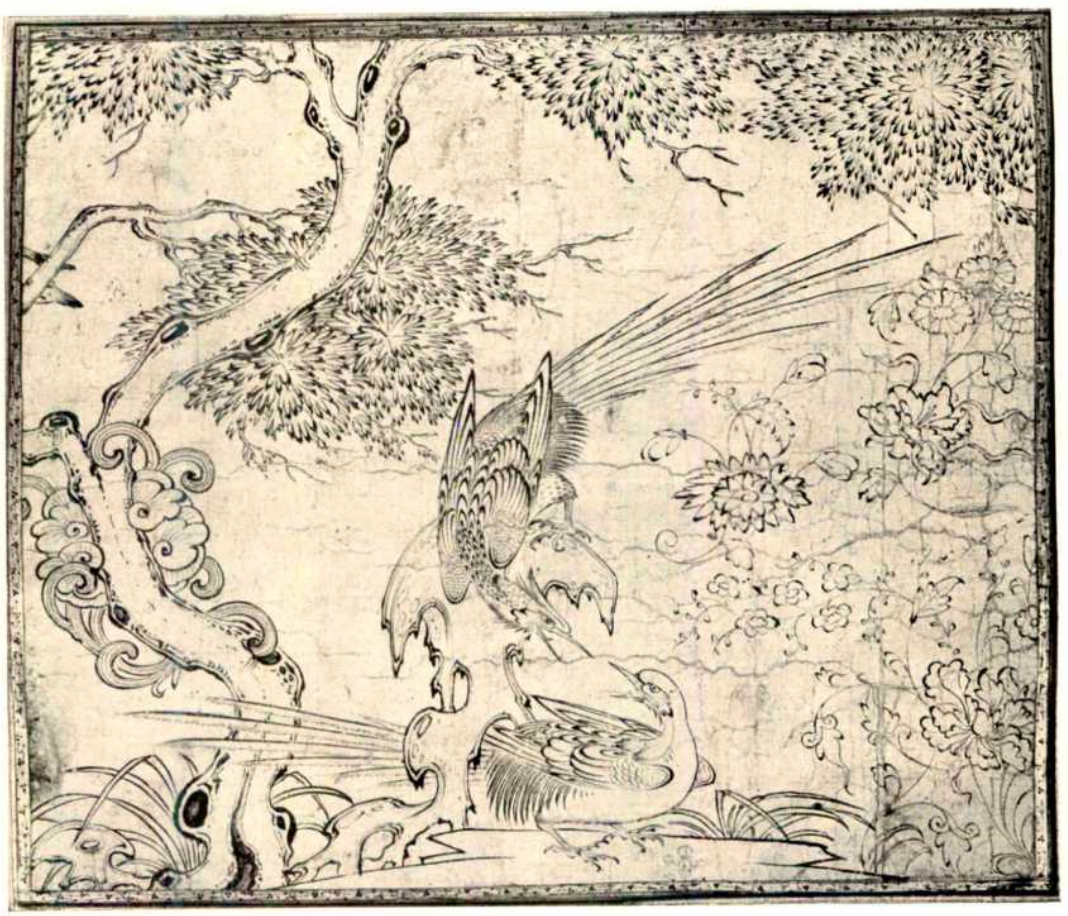


b

V. *a*. EARLY CHRISTIAN SILVER VASE
b. LATE SAXON BROOCH FROM SUTTON, ISLE OF ELY



a



b

VI. PERSIAN DRAWINGS FROM THE ECKSTEIN BEQUEST

a. Tinted Drawing of the Queen of Sheba: about 1600
b. Ink Design in Chinese taste: probably fifteenth century

A LATE-SAXON SILVER DISK-BROOCH FROM THE ISLE OF ELY

IN 1694 the remains of a lead casket were turned up by the plough at Sutton in the Isle of Ely. From it were recovered a hundred silver coins of William the Conqueror, five heavy gold rings, a plain silver dish or disk, and another decorated silver disk, 6 in. across, with Anglo-Saxon and runic inscriptions on the back. Ten years later this latter piece was sent to George Hickes by the learned Vicar of Harlow in Essex, John Taylor, also Canon of Peterborough, at a time when Andrew Fountaine's *Dissertatio de Numismatibus Saxonicis & Dano-Saxonicis* (Oxford, 1705) was in the press. Hickes wrote a supplementary letter in Latin dated 30 September 1704 which he appended to Fountaine's numismatic treatise, and which became pp. 186–8 of his *Dissertatio De Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Usu* (Oxford, 1705) in which Fountaine's treatise is incorporated. In this letter he described the discovery of the silver disk and illustrated its front and back at full scale, transcribing also the Saxon inscription. Hickes's account was used as the basis of a paragraph in Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia* (2nd ed., i. 493), where the back of the brooch was reproduced. Sir Cyril Fox lists the find in his *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (1st ed., 1923, p. 300), and Reginald Smith in *Antiquaries Journal*, v. 135–40 reproduced Hickes's drawings and discussed the Sutton disk in his paper on the Beeston Tor treasure, now in the Museum, which contained two similar but much smaller silver disks. The brooch itself, however, and the things found with it, had wholly disappeared.

In November 1950 a rubbing of an inscription 'on a silver plate' was brought into the Department of British Antiquities by Mr. John Hunt of Co. Limerick. It was the inscription of the long-lost Sutton, Isle of Ely, disk. The presence of the original in the Paris collection of Mr. Hector O'Connor of Dublin was subsequently established. Mr. O'Connor kindly arranged for the disk to be brought to the British Museum for identification and it was subsequently purchased (Pl. VI *b*).

The Sutton disk-brooch ranks as a very satisfactory and important acquisition. It has a known find-spot and history and its burial is dated by coins to prior to A.D. 1088. The disk itself probably dates from the first half of the eleventh century. Study of the original (diameter 6.2 in., 15.75 cm.) shows that Hickes's engravings, our only source of information hitherto, were exactly full scale and of an extremely high degree of accuracy. A good many points of technical interest appear from the study of the original. The character of the animal and foliage patterns on the front also becomes more explicit, though in general Hickes's engraving reproduced it with great faithfulness. No further information can be obtained from a study of the Saxon inscription, though possibly a little more can be

extracted from the Runic one, rather less than half of which survives, as was already the case in 1704. The disk had originally a 'safety-pin' attachment at the back and was meant to be worn. Its appearance at this moment is timely, for two very similar brooches, of equal interest but in different styles of ornamentation, have recently come to light. One of them was acquired by the Museum in 1947 (1947.7–2.1), the other remains in private possession. The acquisition of the Sutton brooch adds very appreciably to the Museum's unrivalled collection of late Saxon metal-work, and it is the latest example by some 200 years of a growing series of late Saxon disk-brooches, and the only one to illustrate a late-Viking-period style of ornament.

The design of the front of the brooch bears a remarkable resemblance to that of the larger of the two Beeston Tor brooches. The design in both is basically that of four intersecting circles. In both nine small bosses are evenly spaced out over the surface and joined by twelve pointed oval fields, resulting from the intersection of the circles, with eight supplementary arcs; leaving four four-sided internal spaces to be filled. In the Beeston Tor brooch these spaces are filled with leaves and other small foliate and geometric details; in the Sutton brooch, while scrolls and foliate details in late Viking style fill other spaces, two of the four central fields carry a grotesque quadruped, the other two a dragon and two dragons (one double-headed). The whole of the ornament is engraved. The animals have the usual spiral treatment of the joints, and the dragons have spotted bodies, familiar details in late Viking style animal ornament. The ornament is loosely and crudely executed but not without art-historical interest.

The Anglo-Saxon inscription, certain of whose spellings are said to indicate an eleventh-century date, in agreement with the other evidence, has been read as follows by Professor Bruce Dickins (*Antiquaries Journal*, v. 138) +ÆDVWEN ME AG. AGE HYO. DRIHTEN DRIHTEN HINE AWERIE ÐE ME HIRE ÆTFERIE BUTON HYO ME SELLE HIRE AGENES WILLES. (+ Aedwen owns me. May she own me. Lord, Lord mayest thou curse him who takes me from her unless she give me of her own accord.)

The runic inscription remains unintelligible. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford

AN EARLY CHRISTIAN SILVER VASE

THE Department of British and Medieval Antiquities has recently acquired by purchase, with a generous contribution from the National Art-Collections Fund, a silver vase (Pl. v*a*) of exceptional interest and importance, not least because it has reappeared after being known to scholars only from accounts and illustrations in Italian books of the eighteenth century. These

accounts[1] state that the vase was in the collection of Monsignor Leone Strozzi, and a drawing of it which was in his possession was communicated by Anton Francesco Gori to G. Bottari. Unfortunately, its history cannot be traced back farther than its acquisition by the vendor.

The vase, which is about 5 inches in height, is elegant in form and finely proportioned. It has suffered damage at some time, the lower part of one side being broken off and a handle, figured in the early illustrations, having disappeared, only the base remaining. On the body are two New Testament subjects in relief, the Healing of the Blind Man and the Handing over of the Scroll of the Law (or the Keys?) to St. Peter; part of the latter subject was on the lost portion.

The appearance of religious subjects on the vase gives it a particular interest, and it may be compared with another belonging to the Treasure of Traprain Law, in the National Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh,[2] showing the Fall of Man, the Betrayal (?), the Adoration of the Magi, and Moses striking the Rock. Some of the ornamental details can be matched in the Esquiline Treasure already in the Museum and exhibited in the King Edward VII Gallery. Our vase may be dated late fourth or early fifth century, and the place of origin may well have been Rome.

A. B. TONNOCHY

PERSIAN MINIATURES BEQUEATHED BY SIR BERNARD ECKSTEIN

THE Department of Oriental Antiquities has since its formation housed a representative collection of the art of the Persian miniature-painter and draughtsman, part of which came from albums acquired by the Museum in the nineteenth century. An early acquisition of the Department, recorded in *B.M.Q.* ix, pp. 88–91, was the gift by Sir Bernard Eckstein of two important miniatures which had then lately entered his collection from that of the late M. Claude Anet. Anet was a well-known novelist who had travelled in Persia before the First World War and used his fine taste at that advantageous time in bringing together a collection which could certainly not be formed today.

Now the nation must record a further debt of gratitude to Sir Bernard Eckstein, whose bequests of European ceramics and of two Persian manuscripts have already been recorded.[3] By his will he left a choice of twenty-eight further examples of Persian paintings from his collection. Of those chosen eighteen were once Anet's and most of them had figured in the great exhibitions of Persian art,

[1] Anastasius Bibliotecarius, *De vitis pontificum, Romanorum*, ii, ed. Bianchini, p. 179, 1723; G. Bottari, *Sculture e pitture* . . . i, p. 180, Rome, 1737; T. M. Mamachi, *Origines et antiquitates christianae*, v, p. 520, Rome, 1755. See also F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, i, s.v. 'Aveugles', Paris, 1905–6.

[2] A. O. Curle, *The Treasure of Traprain*, pp. 13 ff. Glasgow, 1923.

[3] *B.M.Q.* xv. 3, p. 80, and 1, p. 13.

at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, in 1912 and the Royal Academy, London, in 1930–1.

They are thus already well known and it will suffice here to mention that they include a page from a Shiraz manuscript of *Kalila wa Dimna* dated 733 A.H. (A.D. 1333) with two admirable animal drawings against red and blue backgrounds, embellished with flowers in Mongol taste and an interesting figure drawing from the same manuscript; and two illustrations to a Timurid manuscript of Juwaynī, *Ta'rīkh i-Jahān Gushay* of A.H. 841 (A.D. 1438), representing Kuyuk the Mongol Great Khān, and the siege of a fortress, painted in an unusual, gay palette. These have been attributed to a conservative school at Tabriz by Ernst Kühnel (*Survey of Persian Art*, p. 1843), but are probably also Shiraz work.

The separate drawings, both in line and in colour, are certainly not less important. A particularly distinguished group are to be dated in the early part of the reign of Shah Abbās the Great (1587–1629). Among them are signed drawings by Aqā Rizā of a royal horse and groom and by Mīr Yūsuf of a kneeling cupbearer dressed in European costume with cloak and wide brimmed hat. No less fine is an unsigned tinted drawing with gold enhancement of Balqīs Queen of Sheba watching the arrival of the hoopoe who carried the love letters which she exchanged, in the Islamic version, with Solomon (Pl. VI*a*). This resembles to some extent the earlier decoration of the Ala Kapi palace at Isfahan which was prepared for Shah Abbās about the year 1600. The style is much more refined than that current under Shah Abbās II, and shows no sign of European influence. A lady holding a jonquil in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, pl. CXL) may be by the same hand. In spite of some archaic features in the rock and flower drawing, especially the flowers which cover the background, an earlier date cannot be entertained. Probably rather earlier is a well-known portrait of 'Abd Allāh Khān Uzbek II, Shaybānid ruler of Transoxiana, seated eating melons, which is full of life and character.

The ten drawings not from the Anet collection selected for the Museum include several of the first importance, notably the 'Death of Rustam' from the so-called 'Demotte' manuscript of the Shahnāma, full of drama and pathos, and the only miniature from this famous book in a public collection in Great Britain. But there can be hardly any question that the most beautiful Persian miniature in the Department is now the 'Sleeping Rustam guarded by his horse Raksh who slays a marauding lion'. Here romance burns on the page in the luxuriance of the vegetation and the brilliance of the colouring. For a painting of such importance this miniature is curiously hard to date closely. It is, however, certainly Timurid and certainly ante-dates the revolutionary stylistic changes introduced by Bihzad in the 1490's. It represents the work of some painter in the main Herati tradition, though not necessarily working in that centre, but unfortunately at present it is not possible to make a definite attribution.

VII. BAVENDA DIVINING BOWL: S. AFRICA (*Diam.*: 12½ in.)

a

b

VIII. BAVENDA DIVINING BOWL

a. Undersurface
b. Side view, showing Knuckle Bones and Bag

There is only space here to mention one further drawing in the bequest, a calligraphic piece of Chinoiserie of particularly fine quality (Pl. vi*b*). Here again dating is particularly difficult; drawings of this kind have been dated as early as the fourteenth century and as late as the seventeenth. This example is unpublished[1] but like the others appears to be a design for a textile. Birds like these pheasants are found in early Safavi textiles and are represented on the lacquered book covers of the sixteenth century. But here the Chinese influence is so strong and well-understood that it seems necessary to attribute it to a period of closer Chinese contacts than this. Strongest of all it was no doubt in the Mongol period, and in view of the strikingly similar rock formation in some of the Tabriz miniatures of the first half of the fourteenth century, this should not be hastily excluded. Then there is the early Timurid period, notable for the Chinese Embassy sent by Shāh Rukh and for the Chinoiserie in such famous manuscripts as the British Museum *Anthology* of 1410/11 made for the Timurid price Isakandar (*Survey*, pl. 945), and on the endpapers of the Bodleian Shahnama of 1420 made for another Timurid prince, Ibrāhīm. Moreover, now that Chinese blue and white porcelain with pictorial designs of this character is known to go back to the fourteenth century and that there is strong presumption of its having reached Persia in the early Timurid time, such a date must appear to be the most probable, especially as the largest number of such drawings now known is contained in a large *muraqqa'* in the Serayi library at Istanbul which is said to have been the property of Prince Baysunqur, a third grandson of Timur and the most important patron of painting in the third decade of the fifteenth century in Persia. None the less it would be rash to rule out the last period of great Chinese influence in Persia, that of Shāh Abbas the great, when Chinese bird, flower, and landscape motives were freely copied in Persian blue and white from the Chinese originals.

The bequest also includes an outstanding example of lacquer-painted bookbinding in a pair of covers, once in the Düsseldorf Museum, and certainly by the hand of a master of the period of Shāh Tahmasp I (1523–76). The outside of each is painted with a feasting scene in a garden on a dark blue ground (see *Survey of Persian Art*, pl. 973) and the inside with a hunting scene on a gold ground (P. W. Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Bd. ii, Taf. 196–7).

B. GRAY

[1] Apart from a plate in a Paris Sale Catalogue: Monsieur M . . . de Teheran, 1922.

DIVINING BOWL FROM THE BAVENDA, S. AFRICA

THE wooden bowl illustrated in Pls. VII, VIII, from the Bavenda tribe of the Zoutpansberg in northern Transvaal, was presented to the Department of Ethnography in 1946 by Mr. D. Allam, who had acquired it in about 1911 after the conviction of its owner on a charge of witchcraft.

Bowls (*ndilo*) of this type, only found among the Bavenda and Makalanga tribes, were formerly used by professional diviners (*mungoma*) for revealing the identity of witches (*muloi*) by a peculiar method described below. In form it resembles a circular platter about 1 foot in diameter, with a flat-topped rim 1⅛ inches wide and rising about 1½ inches above the bed of the bowl. The surface of the rim is carved in low relief with a continuous series of animal figures and magical symbols, divided by transverse grooves, which are prolonged vertically down the interior wall. The bed of the bowl also has figures and symbols, and in the centre is a small boss ¾ inch high, on top of which a cowrie shell is embedded in gum. This is known as the umbilicus and represents the mothers' spirits. The exterior surface of the bowl is slightly convex, and is carved all over with various figures, the spaces between them being filled with series of roughly parallel grooves. In the centre is a circular foot 1¼ inches high; two pierced lugs lie between the centre and the rim, and two marginal lugs, one of which is pierced, project ¼ inch beyond the rims. Passing through the three pierced lugs is a twined cotton cord, to which a string bag containing 20 knucklebones is attached, and also a hollowed bird's wingbone and a short piece of bone, both perforated to take a cord. The bowl is evidently of some age, and the surface is considerably worn by use.

Very few of these divining bowls appear to have been preserved, and the present specimen is the first to be acquired by the Museum. Two similar specimens are illustrated and fully described by H. A. Stayt in his monograph on the Bavenda,[1] and my information regarding their use is derived from his account. None of these bowls are identical, and the symbols carved on them differ to some extent both in type and arrangement.

In their explanations of certain symbols the diviners do not always agree, so that, in the absence of the owner's own explanation, there is bound to be some uncertainty about their correct meaning. However, it seems clear that the animal

[1] H. A. Stayt, *The Bavenda*, pp. 291–300, and pl. xliii–xlv. The author states that he had examined four divining bowls in detail. The so-called 'zodiac bowl', found in a cave near Zimbabwe, clearly belongs to this class of object. (See G. Caton-Thompson, *The Zimbabwe Culture*, pl. liv.)

It is, of course, quite possible that some of the symbols on these bowls may be due originally to Arab influence in medieval or later times, and may have had a zodiacal origin. But none of them, even in the so-called 'zodiac bowl' from Zimbabwe, can be positively equated with signs of the zodiac, of which the Bavenda had no knowledge within living memory.

figures represent clan 'totems', while the notched panels probably symbolize the divinatory dice or bones used by medicine men, which are depicted on all the known bowls.

The figures depicted on this bowl include several crocodiles, one on the bed, three or four on the rim, and one on the under-surface. The crocodile is usually shown diagrammatically with splayed angular limbs, while other animals are seen in profile. It is a clan totem, and is also feared as a symbol of witchcraft. Of the three other animals shown on the rim one, at least, appears to be an elephant, and one may be a lion, both of which are clan totems. Symbols of dice occur at intervals all round the rim. Other probable identifications are a snake, hands, and the hole and grinding stone for making medicine, which are shown as a disk and a ring close together. The pitmarks in the bed of the bowl probably indicate holes for preparing 'medicine' (by the witch); the zigzag line curving round to the rim in the lower left quarter may be a kraal fence enclosing an animal, while the bifurcated symbols resemble the sign for a woman's apron in one of Stayt's bowls. Two rayed circles on the undersurface may represent celestial bodies. All the above suggestions are based on analogy with the explanations given by Stayt for the other bowls; further speculation would be unjustified.

The method of divination is briefly as follows. The bowl is filled to the brim with water, and the diviner gives the chief mourner or consultant from four to six seeds of the *murutu* tree, which he drops into the centre of the bowl. The diviner calls out the names of the various clans and exhorts the seeds to reveal the witch. As the seeds float around they touch various signs, thereby indicating the clans of the witch, and of her parents and grandparents, &c., until her identity is established. By means of further movements of the seeds in relation to the symbols the diviner professes to be able to reconstruct the character and details of the whole crime. Finally the seeds are removed from the bowl with an iron spoon and the water poured away.

H. J. BRAUNHOLTZ

P 35,644

MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED BOOKS FROM THE HOLKHAM HALL LIBRARY

1. THE LIBRARY

ON 25 February 1952 the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced in the House of Commons that the Trustees had agreed to purchase from the Earl of Leicester's Library at Holkham Hall a number of selected manuscripts and printed books for the sum of £95,000. Towards this formidable expenditure two princely offers of help had been made to the Trustees by the Pilgrim Trust and the National Art-Collections Fund, which had each offered £10,000, while the Friends of the National Libraries (out of their much smaller funds) had promised £500, leaving £74,500 to be defrayed (subject to the approval of Parliament, which has since been given) by the Exchequer.

Something must be said of the Library at Holkham.[1] Its founder was the great Chief Justice, Sir Edward Coke (1552–1634), who established it as an heirloom.[2] The catalogue of his books drawn up in the year of his death and recently edited by the present Holkham Librarian, Dr. W. O. Hassall,[3] contains 1,227 entries, as compared with the 20,000 volumes now in the Library; but the picture given by that catalogue is incomplete, as it omits at least one-third of the manuscripts still in the Library which can be traced back to Sir Edward Coke.

Despite Sir Edward's precautions, barely half the books in his catalogue can be identified at Holkham today. His descendants added a certain number of volumes, but there was no hint of the future glories of the Library until 1707, when Thomas Coke (1697–1759), afterwards Earl of Leicester, succeeded his father at the age of nine. A precocious youth, he set off in 1712 on a grand tour of the Continent, from which he returned in 1718. During that period he amassed a collection of books and manuscripts which would have been no mean achievement for one of far maturer years. Several libraries were bought *en bloc*, and by 1721 he had acquired about 600 of the 771 manuscripts in the Library today, besides a great number of valuable printed books.[4] In these purchases Coke had the advantages of a long purse (in 1741 he estimated his income at £15,000 a year) and the advice of his 'Governor', the bibliophile Dr. Thomas Hobart, but he himself deserves much of the credit: 'During my voyage round Italy', he wrote when only 17, 'I have bought several of the most valuable authors that have writ in Italian about the country . . . if I missed the occasion of buying books, I should not be able to find severall of the best of them, and its impossible to buy them to my mind unless I am myself present, and certainly one of the greatest ornaments to a Gentleman or his family is a fine Library.'[5]

After about 1722 Thomas Coke practically ceased to buy manuscripts, but he continued to acquire printed books and to clothe them in magnificent bindings. His incunabula eventually reached some 300, though the number of English examples was limited by his distaste for the 'ugly Gothic letter'. After his death a further period of stagnation followed, until in 1814 that many-sided scholar, William Roscoe, visited Holkham. The property had then descended to Thomas Coke's great-nephew, Thomas William Coke, the celebrated 'Mr. Coke of Norfolk', for whom the Earldom of Leicester was revived in 1837. At Roscoe's instigation additions were made which, though not extensive, included many books of the highest class, including the Mainz Psalter (see below, § 3) and the Clement VII Bible (§ 2, no. 3), bought at Roscoe's own sale in 1816, the Bible Picture-Book (§ 2, no. 1) bought by Roscoe for Coke in the same year, followed by the magnificently illuminated Flemish Virgil and the four Weingarten codices similarly acquired in 1818. Roscoe also did much for the preservation and binding of the books, and compiled a catalogue of the manuscripts which was subsequently rewritten by Sir Frederic Madden, Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum. Although, to Madden's chagrin, this catalogue was never sent to the printer,[6] it is preserved in the Library and remains not the least valuable of the Holkham manuscripts.

After Thomas William Coke's death in 1842, the Rev. Robert Collyer was appointed Librarian. He continued the work of conservation and cataloguing,[7] employing Francis Chantrey to list the greater part of the printed books; Collyer ruled his library with a rod of iron, and 'never allowed a member of the family to look at a book on any pretence whatever'.[8] What may be called the modern era of the library, so far as the manuscripts are concerned, dates from 1888, when M. Léon Dorez of the Bibliothèque nationale paid the first of a long series of visits to Holkham. Twenty years of intermittent study culminated in his masterly volume, *Les manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque de Lord Leicester à Holkham Hall, Norfolk*.[9] He also published some articles on individual manuscripts, but neither his summary description and history of the manuscript library (announced for early publication in the introduction to *Les manuscrits à peintures*), nor the full modern catalogue which he had projected, ever appeared, and the latter task still remains a field for future enterprise. Yet more recent years have seen the excellent work, already mentioned, of the late Mr. C. W. James as Librarian, the invaluable hand-list of manuscripts (based on Roscoe and Madden) published by Seymour de Ricci, and various studies of individual books. Meanwhile the contents of the Library have remained virtually unaltered, except for such incidents as the discovery of Sir Edward Coke's library catalogue in about 1916, the sale of the Weingarten codices to the Pierpont Morgan Library, and the theft of a few volumes (some of which were later recovered) in 1948.

This, then, is the background against which the present purchase must be

viewed. The twelve manuscripts and eighty-three printed books now acquired by the nation, picked specimens though they are, constitute only a fraction of the treasures of one of the last survivors of the great family libraries of this country.

T. C. SKEAT

NOTES

1. On the Library see two papers by the late C. W. James, Librarian at Holkham, *Some Notes on the Manuscript Library at Holkham*, in *The Library*, ii, 1921–2, pp. 213–37, and *Some Notes on the Library of Printed Books at Holkham*, *The Library*, xi, 1930–1, pp. 435–60; and, for a publication of somewhat wider scope, the same author's *Chief Justice Coke, his family and Descendants at Holkham*, 1929.
2. By a deed executed in 1630 and now preserved in the Library as Holkham MS. 748A.
3. *A Catalogue of the Library of Sir Edward Coke, Yale Law Library Publications*, No. 12, October, 1950, Yale University Press.
4. One of his latest acquisitions of manuscripts, the Greek manuscripts of Giulio Giustiniani of Venice, he obtained in competition with the great Robert Harley (*The Library*, ii, 1921–2, pp. 224–5).
5. *The Library*, xi, 1930–1, p. 445.
6. Though this catalogue has remained unpublished, a most valuable *Hand List of Manuscripts in the Library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall*, abstracted from the catalogue and annotated by Seymour de Ricci, appeared in 1932 as Supplement No. 7 to the Bibliographical Society's Transactions.
7. He was, however, responsible for the disastrous sale of nearly 700 priceless 'duplicates' in 1851.
8. *The Library*, xi, 1930–1, p. 459.
9. Paris, 1908, pp. 108, 60 plates.

2. THE MANUSCRIPTS[1]

1. AMONG the manuscripts from the Holkham Library stands supreme the so-called *Bible Picture-Book* (Holkham MS. 666, now Additional MS. 47682), a book of forty-two leaves containing a series of tinted illustrations of Bible history with explanatory text (partly in verse, partly in prose) in Anglo-French, executed in England in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. It is to be welcomed in the Museum, not only as a unique monument of English art, but also because of its striking resemblance, both in style, technique, and many details of design, to the slightly earlier Queen Mary's Psalter (Royal MS. 2 B. vii), or rather to the series of Old Testament illustrations with Anglo-French text which in that manuscript precedes the Psalter proper. Though the similarity has been fully exploited by Sir George Warner in his edition of Queen Mary's Psalter, the opportunity of placing these two manuscripts side by side will be of great value to art historians of this latest stage in the great English tradition of outline drawing.

The Holkham manuscript comprises three distinct series of illustrations: (*a*) Biblical History from the Creation to the Flood (it is in this section alone that direct comparison with Queen Mary's Psalter is possible); (*b*) the Life of Christ; and (*c*) an Apocalyptic section. All three sections include many of the apocryphal details and incidents so popular in the Middle Ages, such as the slaying of Cain by the blind Lamech, or the boy Christ transforming his

playmates into piglets, or sliding down a sunbeam. Though rougher in execution and less refined in taste than Queen Mary's Psalter, the Holkham book makes up for this by its more vigorous drawing and dynamic design, as in the superb figure of the Creator (f. 2*b*) reproduced as Plate IX. Its English provenance is placed beyond all doubt by a curious passage in the text of the scene of the Angels and the Shepherds, where the scribe, almost accidentally as it seems, drops into English (here italicized):

'Coment les pastureus de lur cheuerie
ffeseyent ioye a la vyrge marie,
E le chant qe le angel out chaunte
En le honour de la nativite
Songen alle wid one steuene, [= voice]
Also þe angel song þat cam fro heuene
Te deum et Gloria
La contenance veyez cha.'

Pages from the Bible Picture-Book have been widely reproduced, including six plates in Dorez (op. cit., pp. 34–41, pls. xxiii–xxviii), and nineteen in the edition of the manuscript by Dr. M. R. James for the 11th volume of the Walpole Society (1922–3). A complete facsimile edition with an introduction by Dr. W. O. Hassall, the present Holkham Librarian, is in preparation.

2. Another English illuminated manuscript, almost contemporary in date but more conventional in style, is of peculiar interest because the precise circumstances and date of its production are known. This is a copy of the *De Secretis Secretorum*, a pseudo-Aristotelian treatise on the education and duties of princes very popular in the Middle Ages, especially in England (Holkham MS. 458, Add. MS. 47680). A presentation volume to Edward III in 1326–7 from an otherwise obscure cleric, Walter de Milemete, it has a companion volume now in the library of Christ Church, Oxford, which mentions the Holkham manuscript as having already been presented to the King. Both books are profusely illuminated (probably in London, according to M. R. James) by a number of different artists, and the opening of the Holkham manuscript here illustrated (ff. 16*b*, 17, Pl. x) contains typical examples of their grotesque and heraldic ornamentation. Each book includes, among the mechanical devices recommended to the attention of the prince, one purely fantastic, a species of 'loudspeaker' with (alleged) audible range, of 60 miles, useful for emergency mobilization, and one only too practical engine of destruction, a cannon, of which these have been claimed as the earliest extant representations.

The Holkham manuscript, which belonged to Chief Justice Coke and figures as no. 286 in his library catalogue, is described by Dorez, op. cit., pp. 41–43, pl. xxix, and both it and its Christ Church fellow form the subject of an elaborate monograph by Dr. M. R. James for the Roxburghe Club.[2]

3. An illuminated manuscript of very different type and provenance is the magnificent north-Italian Bible (Holkham MS. 7, Add. MS. 47672) owned by the anti-pope Clement VII (Robert of Geneva), whose election in 1378 precipitated the Great Schism. Each of its 508 leaves contains miniatures and other decorations in the finest style, distinguished for their delicate execution and brilliant colouring. In the page shown (f. 1, Pl. XII) the enormous initial F is embellished with representations of scribes at work, while the two roundels in the lower margin contain facing portraits of St. Jerome and Moses. Between these roundels, the arms of Clement VII[3]—nine pieces, *or* and *azure*, inscribed CLEMENS PP VII—have been somewhat crudely inserted.[4] This addition must have been made between 1378 and Clement's death in 1394, and in all probability the manuscript was executed some years before the earlier date. It is fully described by Dorez, op. cit., pp. 44–60 and pls. XXX–XXXIX.

4. We now turn from illuminated manuscripts to those selected primarily for other considerations. Since the time of Thomas Coke, Holkham has been celebrated for its collection of manuscripts of classical authors, though most of these are of relatively late date. One of the exceptions is a fragment of certain orations of Cicero (Holkham MS. 387, Add. MS. 47678), written at Tours early in the ninth century (Pl. XI *b*).[5] In the twelfth century it was in the possession of the monastery of Cluny,[6] home of one of the most famous of all Ciceronian manuscripts, the *Vetus Cluniacensis*. By this time, according to A. C. Clark,[7] it was already defective, having lost the *Pro Marcello*, and it sustained further losses in succeeding centuries (it was later at Düsseldorf), though some of the lost readings have been preserved in the notes of sixteenth-century scholars. Out of an original total of at least 136 leaves, 39 now survive, covering parts of the *Catilinarians*, the *Pro Q. Ligario*, the *Pro Rege Deiotaro*, and the beginning of *In Verrem* ii. For these works the manuscript is the primary authority, and has been extensively studied and fully collated by Sir William Peterson, who concluded that it had been copied from an ancient exemplar written in rustic capitals.

5. Approximately coeval with the Cluny Cicero is a copy of the Gospels from the Benedictine house of Schuttern in Baden (Holkham MS. 17, Add. MS. 47673).[8] The text is written in minuscules, showing an interesting mixture of forms which enable the manuscript to be confidently assigned to the early part of the ninth century.[9] The colophon records that it was written by the deacon Liutharius at the order of the Abbot Bertricus, and by a happy chance a contemporary list of the monks of Schuttern, preserved in the neighbouring monastery of Reichenau, contains the names of both these personages, and proves that the manuscript was written in the monastery where it subsequently made its home. The decoration consists of the usual arcaded canon tables and tables of chapters, and, at the beginning of each gospel, some boldly drawn and coloured initials (Pl. XI *a*) in which the Insular tradition is strongly marked, reminding us

that Schuttern and Reichenau were both founded by St. Pirmin, reputedly of Celtic origin, and recalling the products of the Franco-Saxon school which flourished farther to the north and east. There are no full-page miniatures of the Evangelists, their place being taken by rectangular bordered panels containing quotations from the Psalter[10] written, in uncials, in white ink on grounds of purple or indigo.[11]

The text of the gospels does not appear to have been collated, nor is it likely to prove of any great importance, though there is a small sprinkling of interesting readings. The chief significance of the manuscript in its new home lies in the fact that it represents a very early stage in German book-decoration of which the Museum has hitherto possessed no comparable example.

6. Of unusual interest is the unique manuscript of a compilation of Roman and Visigothic Law, written in the Beneventan script of southern Italy in the tenth or early eleventh century (Holkham MS. 210, Add. MS. 47676). Palaeographically it is a valuable addition to the small number of Beneventan manuscripts which the Museum has so far accumulated,[12] and its contents are also noteworthy. The compiler, who perhaps lived in Italy in the ninth century, drew upon Roman sources both before and after Justinian, and various Visigothic law-books, notably the Code of Recceswinth (654). But the special significance of the work is due to the fragments which Professor A. Gaudenzi discovered embedded in the text, and which he claimed[13] as remnants of the earliest monument of Germanic law, the Codex Euricianus, drawn up by Euric, King of the Visigoths from 466 to 484, and otherwise known only from a very fragmentary palimpsest at Paris and from chapters incorporated in the Bavarian Laws. Though jurists have not admitted in full Gaudenzi's claim (it is agreed, for instance, that the fragments are later than the Breviary of Alaric, promulgated in 506), the importance of the discovery is undeniable, and the fragments are duly included by Karl Zeumer in his definitive edition of the earliest Visigothic laws in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.[14] In still more recent years the *Fragmenta Gaudenziana*, as they were christened by Zeumer, have played an important part in the revolutionary theory of Garcia Gallo on the development of Visigothic Law,[15] and there may still be room for further research before a final evaluation can be made.

7. The survival of Roman technical literature into the Middle Ages, and the perils of corruption and interpolation to which such texts were peculiarly exposed, are illustrated by a manuscript of the late twelfth century, written perhaps in eastern France, and containing the *Categories* of Aristotle in the Latin translation falsely ascribed to St. Augustine,[16] a group of treatises on ancient land-measurement and kindred subjects, known as the *Agrimensores Romani*, followed by the supposititious *Geometry* and *Arithmetic* of Boethius, and other mathematical opuscula; including the *Geometry* of Gerbert (Pope Sylvester II), which

here appears anonymously, and the anonymous *Liber Podismi*, which by way of compensation is attributed to Gerbert. The manuscript falls into the fourth class established by Lachmann and Blume in their edition of the *Agrimensores Romani*, a group in which the works of the *Agrimensores* are reduced to mere excerpts and associated with the work of Pseudo-Boethius. Manuscripts of this type have been exhaustively examined by Professor N. Bubnov in his edition of the mathematical works of Gerbert,[17] and, still more recently, by C. Thulin,[18] but neither scholar knew of the Holkham manuscript and its classification and importance remain to be determined.

8. Knowledge of Greek, the original language of the New Testament and the earliest liturgical language of the Christian Church, never wholly died out in western Europe,[19] and its tenuous survival is attested by a succession of bilingual manuscripts in which the Greek (often written in Latin characters) and Latin texts are arranged in parallel columns. As would be expected from its liturgical associations, the Psalter is frequently chosen for such books, and a fine specimen of the kind is Holkham MS. 22 (Add. MS. 47674). This is a well-written manuscript, executed in France in the first half of the thirteenth century, and in an excellent state of preservation.[20] Despite its fine looks, however, the volume does not evince more than a nodding acquaintance with the Greek language: the Greek text, written in minuscules, swarms with blunders of all kinds, including many which no native scribe could have committed, and was no doubt penned by a Western hand copying slavishly from a Greek original. Illumination is confined to a few initials, decorated with spirals and interlacing in the Greek column, and historiated in the Latin with scenes and portraits typical of the normal Latin Psalter of the period.[21] In the fifteenth century the manuscript was owned, and extensively annotated, by the scholar and Hellenist Pietro da Montagnana of Padua (d. 1476), who bequeathed it to the Canons of S. Giovanni in Verdara in that city, and there it remained until 1717, when, with the bulk of the Canons' manuscripts, it passed into the possession of Thomas Coke.

9. The attraction of a copy of the *Facetiae* of Poggio (Holkham MS. 480, Add. MS. 47681), a collection of humorous anecdotes which enjoyed a wide reputation even in the great scholar's lifetime, is provided by the colophon, *Felix Felicianus scripsit*, which reveals it as the handiwork of Poggio's friend and fellow humanist Felice Feliciano of Verona. The biography of this remarkable figure—poet, scholar, epigraphist, alchemist, printer, calligrapher, miniaturist, to give only an incomplete list of his activities—has yet to be written; in the meantime a valuable article by Laura Pratilli[22] provides the essential details. Though Miss Pratilli did not know the whereabouts of the Holkham manuscript, she knew of its existence, for she quotes a description by Apostolo Zeno of a volume he had seen in a Venetian bookbinder's workshop,[23] and which

CALCU CENTR

agrees in all details with the Holkham manuscript. Presumably, therefore, it is one of the purchases made at Venice by Thomas Coke.

Both the date and the occasion of the writing of the manuscript are given in an inscription by Feliciano on the fly-leaf, recording its execution, in 1461, at Verona, for Girolamo, son of Lorenzo Loredano of Venice, with the aid of Giorgio Sommariva of Verona. This should no doubt be taken to mean that Sommariva paid, at least in part, for the production of the volume, for it is known that Feliciano was glad to accept such commissions on those not infrequent occasions when he was in low water. On the reverse side of the fly-leaf is a shield of arms, Loredano and Barozzi (or Barocci) quarterly, and the first page of the text which faces it is finely illuminated, with the strap-work border characteristic of Feliciano's style.[24] Otherwise the manuscript makes no great pretensions to elegance, and its appearance is in a number of places marred by mutilations and cancellations, perhaps the work of some prudish owner of the book in later times.

Hitherto Feliciano had been represented in the Museum only by his autograph copy of his *Epistolario* (Harley MS. 5271), a collection of letters originally written between 1471 and 1475; as he is supposed to have died *circa* 1480, this manuscript must belong to the closing years of his life. Here also the opening pages, written in letters of gold or silver on green- or purple-stained vellum, present a sumptuous appearance which is belied by the remainder of the book. The Museum already possessed one copy of the *Facetiae*, written in 1456,[25] during Poggio's lifetime (Harley MS. 3333), but the Holkham volume, which links the names of two famous humanists, is a work of infinitely greater interest.

10. For those interested in English humanism, Holkham MS. 70 (Add. MS. 47675) provides a special attraction. Its contents are curiously diverse: an oration of St. John Chrysostom, in Latin, translated, according to the colophon, from the original Greek by William Sellyng, Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, in 1488; the *Speculum Regis Edwardi*, a treatise addressed to Edward III and here ascribed to Simon Islip, Archbishop of Canterbury;[26] and a speech to the Venetian Senate by Celso Maffei of Verona, on the topic *ne Christiani principes ecclesiasticos usurpent census.*

It is surely not fanciful to detect a significance in the choice of these three works. The oration of Chrysostom,[27] the fifth of the series *de Statuis* addressed to the populace of Antioch who, overburdened by taxation, had thrown down the statues of Theodosius and were now in terror of his imminent vengeance,[28] might be read (though it can hardly have been originally so intended) as an exhortation by a Father of the Church to constancy in the face of the oppression of a tyrant; the second is an outspoken attack on the extravagance and extortions of Edward III by an author who, whether Islip or another, was an ecclesiastic of high standing; while the third comes directly to grips with the conflict between Church and State. Add that the manuscript bears on the first page the arms of

William Warham as Archbishop of Canterbury, and the motive becomes clear, for not only was he Archbishop from 1503 (after which date the manuscript must have been written) until his death in 1532, but an outstanding statesman, holding the office of Lord Chancellor from 1504 to 1515.

As for William Sellyng (d. 1494), the translator of Chrysostom, his career and achievements have been fully described by Professor Roberto Weiss, who has dedicated to him a chapter of his *Humanism in England during the 15th century.*[29] There is only room here to say that Weiss ranks him the most considerable figure in English humanism since John Free, emphasizing that he not only took pains to acquire a sound knowledge of Greek, but imparted it to others. Though the statement that he was Linacre's teacher rests only on a late tradition, his place in the tradition of humanism is secure and foreshadows the great days of Colet, More, and Erasmus.

Finally, there is an excellent reason why the Holkham volume should find a home in the Museum: it is, as Professor Wormald has shown, the sister of a manuscript which has been in the collections for over a century as Additional MS. 15673. The contents of the two are identical, except that Add. MS. 15673 contains, after the speech of Celso Maffei, the text of a letter from the well-known cleric and diplomat Christopher Urswick to Thomas Goldston (d. 1517), Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, in succession to Sellyng, forwarding the copy of Maffei's speech which he had obtained at Goldston's request. The relationship of the two manuscripts has yet to be worked out, but *prima facie* it appears that the Holkham MS. was copied directly from the Additional MS., which is in fact not one but two manuscripts, the Oration of Chrysostom and the *Speculum Regis Edwardi* being written in a script closely resembling that of the Holkham MS., while the speech of Maffei and the covering letter of Urswick are in a hand of totally different type (identified by Professor Wormald as that of Peter Meghen, a Dutch scribe who wrote books for Colet and his circle), with a separate quire numeration. Presumably these two manuscripts were brought together very early, and a copy, now the Holkham MS., was produced from the composite volume for presentation to Warham.

11. For monastic chartularies, relating in many cases to widely dispersed possessions, the national collection is recognized as a peculiarly appropriate repository and the Museum has for many years striven to draw into its already great collection of such manuscripts the relatively few examples still remaining in private ownership. The opportunity to acquire the only chartulary in the Holkham Library was therefore not to be missed. This manuscript (Holkham MS. 246, Add. MS. 47677) hails from Kenilworth Abbey (formerly Priory), a house of Augustinian Canons founded about 1125 by Geoffrey de Clinton, Treasurer to Henry I. Written mainly in the early years of the sixteenth century, it has never been fully described or published, and is likely to prove of great

value for the closing years of the history of the house. An additional reason for welcoming its acquisition is that the only other surviving chartulary of Kenilworth, dating from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries and thus illustrating the early progress of the foundation, is already in the collections as Harley MS. 3650. Thus these two volumes, symbolizing the growth and decay of English monasticism, have, after centuries of separation, been once more brought together.

12. We may conclude with a manuscript which at first sight seems to fit into no known category (Holkham MS. 750, Add. MS. 47683). This is a single sheet of vellum measuring 54 × 36 cm. and bearing on one side a large coloured drawing of a seven-branched candlestick, with descriptive text, and on the other side nine smaller drawings, with descriptions, of various musical instruments referred to in the Old Testament. The script points to a date in the eleventh century. Similar drawings of musical instruments occur in a manuscript already in the Museum, Cotton Tiberius C. vi, in a ninth-century Psalter in the Municipal Library at Angers (MS. 18), and in the Psalter of Odbert, Abbot of Saint Bertin (A.D. 999), now in the Municipal Library of Boulogne (MS. 20). It is probable, therefore, that the Holkham manuscript is a leaf cut from a large manuscript, which, to judge from a later inscription on the leaf, at one time belonged to a house of the Camaldolese Order. Both drawings and text are no doubt products of a long tradition and the investigation of its ultimate sources will provide a task for future research.

T. C. SKEAT

NOTES

1. See also *The Holkham Hall Manuscripts*, by Prof. F. Wormald, *Times Literary Supplement*, 2 May 1952, p. 304.
2. *The Treatise of Walter de Milemete . . . from the unique manuscript preserved at Christ Church, Oxford, together with a selection of pages from the companion manuscript . . . preserved in the Library . . . at Holkham*, 1913; pp. lxxiv, 186 plates.
3. See D. L. Galbreath, *Papal Heraldry*, 1930, pp. 40 fig. 81, 42–43, 79–80, and F. Th. Dubois, *Les armoiries de Robert de Genève, Archives héraldiques suisses*, xxxviii, 1924, pp. 151–5. Robert of Geneva's arms as Cardinal before his election as anti-pope are in Add. MS. 23923, f. 2. Another splendidly illuminated manuscript owned by him, and later presented by him to John, Duke of Berry, is Burney MS. 275 (French, late thirteenth cent.).
4. Both here and in some other places in the volume where the arms of Clement VII are found, they appear to be painted over an earlier coat which cannot, however, now be identified.
5. For bibliography see Seymour de Ricci's *Handlist*. The study of the manuscript by Dorez, announced as forthcoming in É. Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins*, 1890, p. 28, appears never to have been published; presumably it was overtaken by the researches of Peterson.
6. It is no. 498 in the Cluny catalogue drawn up in 1160 (L. Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, ii, 478).
7. *The Descent of Manuscripts*, Oxford, 1918, pp. 235 ff.
8. Minutely described by Léon Dorez, *Évangéliaire exécuté à l'Abbaye de Schuttern* (*VIII–IXe siècle*), in *Mélanges offerts à M. Émile Chatelain*, Paris, 1910, pp. 293–9, 2 plates.
9. Dorez (op. cit.) considered a date in the closing years of the eighth century possible, but this is decisively rejected by E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, ii, p. ix.
10. The first of these panels (figured by Dorez, op. cit.) contains in addition an unusual explanation

of the symbols of the Evangelists: *Matheus homo dum adsumitur. Marcus leo dum regnat. Lucas vitulus dum immolatur. Johannes aquila dum ad sedem patris revertit.*

11. The fourth panel, preceding St. John's Gospel, has been cut out of the manuscript. Dorez (ibid., p. 293, n. 2) asserted that nothing was lost at this point, but the stub can be clearly seen between ff. 164 and 165.
12. The most recent acquisition was the late-twelfth-century Missal from San Pietro in Benevento, purchased in 1947; cf. *B.M.Q.* xv, 1941–50, p. 20.
13. *Un' antica compilazione di Diritto Romano e Visigoto*, in *Documenti e studii pubblicati per cura della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie di Romagna*, vol. ii, 1886, pp. 5–227.
14. Legum Sectio I., tom. i, 1902, pp. xvi, xx, 469–72.
15. For a summary and criticism of this theory cf. A. Schulze, *Berichte über d. Verhandlungen d. Sächs. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Klasse*, 95. Band, 4. Heft, 1943, pp. 105–30 (see especially pp. 116–18 on the *Fragmenta Gaudenziana*).
16. Printed in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxxii, cols. 1419–40. The text is preceded, as in other manuscripts, by the verses of Alcuin recommending the work to Charlemagne.
17. *Gerberti postea Silvestri II Papae Opera Mathematica*, Berlin, 1899.
18. *Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des Corpus Agrimensorum. Exzerptenhandschriften und Kompendien. Göteborgs K. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-Samhälles Handlingar*, Fjärde följden, xiv–xv, 1911–12, pp. 1–69.
19. A modern comprehensive work on this important subject, long advocated by the late M. R. James (who did so much to elucidate the pre-Renaissance study of Greek in England), has yet to be written. Miss Louise Roper Loomis's *Medieval Hellenism*, begun in 1906 as a Columbia University Dissertation, has remained uncompleted. For the *haut Moyen Âge* there is an excellent summary by É. Delaruelle, *La Connaissance du grec en Occident du Ve au IXe siècle*, in *Mélanges de la Société toulousaine d'études classiques*, i, 1946, pp. 209–26.
20. Described by Dorez, op. cit., pp. 32–33, and pl. xxii. The attribution of the manuscript to N. Italy proposed by Dorez is untenable.
21. The only comparable manuscript already in the Museum is Add. MS. 11752, a much less imposing volume, executed in France at the beginning of the fourteenth century. In this manuscript the Greek is competently written, apparently by a native scribe. For the miniatures of the Holkham MS. cf. Roy. MS. 2 B. ii (NW. France, mid 13th cent.).
22. *Felice Feliciano alla luce dei suoi codici*, in *Atti d. R. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, tomo xcix, parte ii, Cl. di Sc. mor. e lett., Venice, 1940, pp. 33–105, 7 plates.
23. Op. cit., p. 45, n. 1. The present binding is the nineteenth-century calf of Thomas William Coke, whose book-plate is inside the front cover. There is no trace of any earlier binding.
24. The fly-leaf and the first page of the text are vellum, the rest paper.
25. The colophon reads: 'Prestantissimi ac doctissimi Poggii Florentini faceciarum liber feliciter explicit. 1456. X. Iunii. per Sp. Paiarinum.'
26. This work exists in two recensions, the Holkham MS. belonging to the earlier (beg. O Domine mi Rex, circa salutem animae tuae). The ascription to Islip is lacking in the oldest MSS., and is open to serious doubt; cf. the description of Royal MS. 10 B. xi.
27. This oration was printed at Bologna in 1494.
28. Printed in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. xlix, 67–82.
29. *Medium Aevum Monographs*, No. IV, Oxford, 1941. See Chapter X, *John Shirwood and William Sellyng*.

3. THE PRINTED BOOKS

THE 83 volumes selected from Holkham represent the richest acquisition of rare and early printed books made by the Library for many years. It is, indeed, richer than the mere number of volumes would suggest, since 169 separate works are represented in the collection. Of these not less than 40 are incunabula, 12 were printed in the first decade of the sixteenth century, and rather more than 70

before its close. Of the incunabula 21 are from French presses, 9 from Italian, 3 from German, and 2 from English. Dutch and Belgian printers account for 4 more and 1, an edition of the *Letters of Phalaris*, was produced in Spain at Valencia. Of the fifteenth-century books 2 are unrecorded, of 2 only 1 other copy is known to exist, of 6 no other copy is recorded in this country. Outstanding among them is a superb copy of the Latin *Psalter* printed on vellum by Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer at Mainz in 1459 and containing the Psalms, Canticles, and Hymns arranged for monasteries of the German observance. The types and bold ornamental initials are those of the first edition of 1457. Liturgical psalters are only too often marred by erasures and manuscript additions acquired in fitting them for a different use. From these accretions and disfigurements the Holkham copy, unlike that of George III, is singularly free. Furthermore it lacks but one leaf against the many wanting in the other. This, the only known copy to remain in private hands, was acquired by Thomas William Coke from Roscoe; it came originally from the Marly Library. Of quite exceptional rarity is the *Speculum humanae saluationis* or *Dat Spieghel onser behoudenisse*, which is now considered to have been printed at Utrecht about 1470 (Pl. XIII). It is at once an interesting and most important typographical document. Four editions of the work, formerly assigned to the press of Laurens Coster of Haarlem, are known, two with the text in Latin, two in Dutch. The attribution to Coster is no longer accepted. The Holkham copy belongs to the earlier of the two editions containing the text in Dutch. A feature of the work is the series of vigorous and lively woodcuts, two of which head the full width of each page. These are printed in brown ink of the same tint as that employed in blockbooks, while the text is printed in black from movable type. Cuts and text were printed separately and very possibly in different offices. To produce the woodcuts the paper was rubbed upon the block, the traditional method which gives a clear but soft impression, a softer impression than that obtained by downward pressure of the block upon the paper. Only one side of the leaf is used. This was a necessity imposed not by the printer's lack of skill, but by the method of producing the woodcuts. The book of which Schreiber[1] records four copies, but not the Holkham volume, was acquired by Thomas Coke from Andreas Seidel's library. An edition of the *Biblia pauperum*, a very well preserved blockbook of forty leaves, illustrating scenes from the life of Christ with prefigurations and types from the Old Testament, is a desirable addition to the Museum's considerable collection of xylographica (Pl. XIV). This, the third of the ten editions distinguished by Schreiber,[2] was probably produced in Germany or the Low Countries between 1460 and 1470. The woodcuts and the text are printed from the same block in a light-brown ink; the cuts are coloured by hand and each leaf is mounted. Fifteenth-century works of prognostication are notoriously rare, and of the famous Dutch foreteller, Johannes Laet, the Library possessed no work at all.

His *Prenosticata anni MCCCCLXXIX* is for this reason a particularly welcome acquisition in filling a distinct lacuna in the Museum's collection. It is a six-leaf folio illustrated with diagrams and is apparently unrecorded.[3] Johannes Guldenschaff of Cologne was the printer.

An incunable from the press of an English printer and of the greatest rarity is the little quarto tract of four leaves containing the diplomatist John Russell's *Propositio ad Carolum ducem Burgundiae*. It is without title-page, date, name of printer, or place of printing, but is plainly the work of Caxton, since it is printed throughout in his type no. 2. There is at present no evidence to show whether it was the product of his first press, at Bruges, or of his second, at Westminster. It is the sole and somewhat undistinguished memorial of a splendid ceremony. To strengthen his hand against Louis XI Edward IV had sought the friendship of Charles the Bold who succeeded Philip the Good as Duke of Burgundy in 1467. As a first step he arranged a marriage between his sister Margaret and Charles which took place at Bruges in July 1468. To reinforce the alliance still further Edward admitted Charles to the Order of the Garter. The Commission for delivery of the Habit and Ensigns of the Order was signed by the King at Westminster on the tenth of January 1469.[4] The special envoys charged with the duties of admission and investiture were Galliard, Seigneur de Durás, Sir John Scott, Sir Thomas Vaughan, Dr. John Russell, at this time Archdeacon of Berkshire, and the Garter King of Arms. The insignia which included a golden Garter[5] made by John Brome, the London goldsmith, at the cost of just over twenty-four pounds were presented at Ghent with magnificent pageantry, and it was on this occasion that the *Propositio* was delivered by Doctor Russell. The date of this little work is, of course, dependent on the place of printing, Bruges or Westminster. If the choice falls upon Bruges—and its proximity to Ghent makes this a not unlikely selection—the date of printing would lie between 1473 and early in 1476; if, however, Westminster be preferred, the date could not be earlier than late in 1476. The later date is not without significance, since it was in this year that Dr. John Russell was elevated to the See of Rochester. Caxton may have printed this speech to the order of the new bishop or as a compliment to his old friend and patron. The John Rylands Library possesses the only other recorded copy. Of equal rarity is the illustrated *Speculum vitae Christi* of Saint Bonaventura printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1494. The Holkham copy, formerly owned by Dr. John Dee, is complete and in singularly fresh condition. Only one other copy, and that very imperfect, and a few leaves in two other libraries are recorded.

Among the Italian incunabula are some especially desirable acquisitions. All early editions of Virgil are exceedingly rare and none is rarer than that printed by Vindelinus de Spira, the first Venetian printer, in 1471. And none is more beautiful. The fine proportions and beauty of the present volume, which has attracted much attention in the exhibition, are enhanced by the spaciousness of

its margins and its exceptional condition. Only one other copy is recorded in the greater libraries of this country. Of a later Virgil printed in 1483 by an unidentified Venetian printer, and of S. Riessinger's[6] edition of Cicero's *de Oratore*, printed at Naples between 1475 and 1480, no other copies are known to survive in England. Of the latter work indeed three copies only are listed. To this category also belongs another work, the *Terence* of 1474, printed by J. P. de Lignamine, the Roman printer. His books were printed in small editions and are in consequence among the least common of incunabula.

In the series of French incunabula three works of great rarity call for special mention. They are Plato, *Epistolae*, a wide-margined copy, in the translation of Leonardus Aretinus, printed by Friburger, Gering, and Crantz, the first printers established at Paris, *circa* 1470, Cicero, *Epistolae ad familiares* from the press of J. Sachon of Lyons, 1499 and a noble *Missal* of Verdun use printed on vellum by Jean Dupré of Paris in 1481. Here the excellence of the typography is set off by a series of neatly executed illuminations in the style of Jean Bourdichon, court painter of Anne de Bretagne. Only one other copy is recorded in Bohatta's enlarged edition of Weale's *Catalogus Missalium*.

Spanish incunabula are, as is well known, harder to come by than those of any other country. Among the rarest is the edition of the *Epistole phallaridis* printed by Nicolaus Spindeler at Valencia in 1496. This little book, distinguished by a bold woodcut title, and in the Holkham copy by its size and freshness, is known in four other copies, only one of them in England.

To turn to the English books of the sixteenth century. Here the outstanding and unique contribution of the Holkham Library is the *Bible* of 1535, the first edition of the Bible in English. This editio princeps of English Bibles 'translated out of Douche and Latyn' by Miles Coverdale is in fact unique in possessing not only the original title-page attributed to Holbein but also a leaf of the original printing of the preliminary matter. The first printing of this quire no doubt consisted of four leaves, of which the first was occupied by the title with a list of the books of the Bible on the verso, the second and third by the Prologue of the translator, the fourth by the statement of the contents of the 'first boke of Moses, called Genesis, what this boke conteyneth'. When it was ascertained that the importation of the work into England would not be opposed a new and enlarged preliminary quire was printed by a London printer, James Nycholson of Southwark. The substitution of a new quire would not present any particular difficulty, since by a law of 1534 books printed abroad could only be imported in sheets, an act of kindness and a source of considerable profit to London bookbinders. No act of violence therefore to a book already bound was necessary. The printing of a new quire permitted further the insertion of 'an Epystle unto the Kynges Highnesse' in which Queen Anne Boleyn is mentioned. At the same time the title-page was reprinted and the words 'Douche and Latyn' were omitted from it, not

to make room for the extension of a text, as is sometimes thought, but to distinguish the new work quite clearly from the Antwerp New Testaments which had brought so much danger upon both printer and purchaser. The work was for long considered to have been printed by Christopher Froschouer of Zurich. The suggestion made quite early in the eighteenth century by Humphrey Wanley, the librarian of Robert Harley, and supported by H. R. Tedder in his article on Coverdale in the *Dictionary of National Biography* has only recently been questioned. The view of modern scholars is that in all probability it issued from the press of E. Cervicornus and J. Soter of Marburg. Another work of exceptional rarity is Gerson's *The crafte to lyue well and to dye well* printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1505 (Pl. xv). Of this edition, illustrated with bold woodcuts, only one other, imperfect, copy is recorded. Of *The Workes of Geffray Chaucer* two issues of 1542 are known, one, the commoner, having the name of W. Bonham in the imprint, the other that of John Reynes. The Holkham copy enriches the Museum with a tall, finely preserved copy of the second and the rarer issue. Three works unnoticed in the *Short-title Catalogue* may be mentioned. They are: Queen Catharine Parr's *Prayers or Medytacions* in a fine clean impression, which may be dated between 1547 and 1553, since Edward VI is named in the Prayer for the King, *Psalmes or prayers taken out of holye scripture* printed by Berthelet in 1545, and *De duplici copia verborum et rerum* by Erasmus. This little book of 1536 is the only known product of its printer, Sibertus Roedius of London. It has a woodcut title-page and is in its original binding. Of quite outstanding historical interest is a volume of scarce historical tracts, many from the press of John Wolfe, relating to the campaigns of Henry IV of France between 1589 and 1592. Of the thirty-five works contained in it, many of them enlivened with woodcuts, no less than six are unrecorded in the *Short-title Catalogue* and twelve more are known in only one other copy. The last tract in the volume, *The taking of the Royall Galley of Naunts in Brittaine by Iohn Bilbrough, Prentice of London*, the vivid story of a desperate enterprise, is already in the Library and was formerly considered to be unique. A feature of the volume is the condition of the tracts, which are unusually clean and wide-margined. Only too often these rare newsletters survive only in tattered, cropped, and weatherbeaten copies. Those we have been considering might well have just issued from the printing press. Two other pamphlets of uncommon rarity deserve passing notice: *A mirrour to all that loue to follow the warres*, an unrecorded panegyric in verse by I. B. on Peregrine, Lord Willoughby, and James Lea's *The Birth, Purpose, and mortall wound of the Romish Holie League*. This contains a folding woodcut depicting, among other subjects, the Armada in full sail in half-moon formation. This pamphlet, it may be remembered, has recently been examined and reproduced by Dr. Leslie Hotson in his *Shakespeare's Sonnets dated* of 1949. He argues with much ingenuity and not without considerable persuasiveness, though not to the entire satisfaction of scholars, that

'the mortall Moone' of Sonnet 107 is not to be interpreted as a reference to the Queen, but—a much more vivid interpretation—as a reference to the threatening death-dealing half-moon of the Spanish Armada. This, he observes, gives full and proper force to Shakespeare's adjective. Only two other copies of this pamphlet are at present recorded.

Some desirable acquisitions come from the French sixteenth-century presses. Of considerable interest and no less rarity is a collection of thirteen tracts, many in verse and many printed at Lyons, preceded by a 1542 edition of Clément Marot's *L'Enfer*. Of these works none is represented in the Library. Another far from common little work is *Le Coustumier de Normendie* printed by Martin Morin at Rouen, *circa* 1505. And especially welcome are some rare liturgical works, notably a particularly fine copy on vellum enriched with miniatures of *Heures a l'usaige de Paris* from the press of Gilles Hardouyn of Paris, *circa* 1510, another *Horae* in a Spanish translation with many large woodcuts, including a fine title-page, of approximately the same date from that of Nicolas Higman, and two folio Missals, one of Langres use, dated 1517, another for the diocese of Lyons, dated 1556. These, together with a *Roman Missal* also of Paris printing, dated 1518, an uncut, well-preserved Sarum *Processional* of 1557 in its original binding, produced by Richard Hamillon and the wood-engraver and publisher Robert Valentin of Rouen, and a magnificently printed folio *Pontificale Romanum* of 1572 from the Giunta press of Venice, go some small way to repair the catastrophic losses inflicted by hostile action upon the Library's collections in this field. Another scarce work from a Venetian press is Boccaccio's *Comedie* printed by Georgius de Rusconibus in 1501. This antedates by two years the earliest edition at present available in the Library. Before leaving the sixteenth century an unidentified edition of the *Epistolae* of Pico della Mirandola may be noticed. The date may be placed early in the century and Germany may be accepted as the country of its origin.

The seventeenth-century works are mostly from London presses, Of the few books printed abroad three are works of religious controversy. The Jesuit John Floyd's *A Survey of the Apostasy of M. Antonius de Dominis*, printed at the English College of St. Omers in 1617, is a welcome accession to the Library's remarkable collection of the rare works which were printed at the headquarters of the English Mission for dissemination in this country. Equally rare are two works printed at Rouen and Rheims, Cardinal Bellarmine's *An ample declaration of the Christian doctrine* and Matthew Kellison's *Reply to Sotcliffe's Answer to the Survey*. To turn to the works from English presses; many are rare, several issues being unrecorded in the *Short-title Catalogue* or known in only one other copy. The main topics are theology and again religious controversy; there are, too, several volumes of sermons. Against this somewhat drab and quarrelsome background two volumes stand out in sharp and pleasant relief, Christopher Levett's *A*

Voyage into New England begun in 1623 and ended in 1624, published in 1624, and a particularly fine copy of the *Second Folio* of Shakespeare. Of Levett's work the *Short-title Catalogue* knows only a later issue of 1628. With it is bound Edward Winslow's *Good Newes from New-England: or, a true Relation of things very remarkable at the Plantation of Plimoth*, published in the same year. Two other copies only of this pamphlet are known, and both are in America. The Second Folio of 1632, a rarer work than the First, was issued with six variant title-pages. The Holkham copy was printed by Tho. Cotes for Richard Meighen of London. No other copy with this imprint is recorded in this country; America, on the other hand, has three.

In commenting upon some of the rarer acquisitions from Holkham attention has been drawn not infrequently to the condition of the volumes, to their good state of preservation, their cleanness, and their spaciousness of margin. The same may be said of all of them. It can seldom have been the Library's good fortune of recent years to have acquired so many books of the greatest rarity in such desirable condition. Many of them are finely bound. The following article draws attention to some of the outstanding examples. F. G. RENDALL

NOTES

1. *Manuel de l'amateur de la gravure sur bois et sur métal au XVe siècle*, 1893, tom. 4, p. 116.
2. Op. cit., tom. 4, p. 4.
3. The other unrecorded work is Guido de Monte Rocherii, *Manipulus Curatorum*, printed by M. Morin at Rouen in 1496 and unknown to Hain, Copinger, and Polain.
4. E. Ashmole, *The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, 1672, Appendix lxii.
5. The form of the garter and its fate after the rout of Charles at Grandson in 1476 are discussed by Dr. Joan Evans in a note communicated to the *Antiquaries Journal*, xxxii. 70, 71.
6. Sixtus Riessinger was the first printer at Naples.

4. NOTES ON THE BINDINGS OF THE HOLKHAM BOOKS

THE outstanding example of the art of bookbinding among the Holkham books covers a copy of Caesar's *Commentarii* printed by M. Vascosan in Paris in 1543. The binding is of light-brown morocco, gold tooled with a geometrical strapwork pattern enriched with impressions of stylized floral tools (Pl. XVI). In the centre of the upper cover is the title CAESARIS COM. and beneath, on a scroll worked into the design, the ownership inscription THO. MAIOLI ET AMICORVM of Thomas Mahieu, one of the greatest book collectors of the mid-sixteenth century. Probably Italian by birth, Mahieu served as secretary to Queen Catharine de' Medici from 1549 to 1560, and was subsequently one of the Treasurers of France. He patronized all the more important Paris binders of his time, and this very attractive example comes from a workshop not previously represented in the Department's collection. It was illustrated by G. D. Hobson as plate 31 in his

Maioli, Canevari and others, 1926. Mahieu possessed a manuscript used when this edition of the *Commentarii* was printed. He also owned another copy of the printed edition, which entered the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, with the books of Ezechiel von Spanheim, who died in 1710.

There are also two interesting English 'panel-stamped' calf bindings of the first third of the sixteenth century. These bindings, impressed with designs in blind from metal blocks, were trade bindings, in which booksellers had a certain number of their books exposed for sale ready bound. On the upper cover of a copy of Johannes Clerée, *Sermones quadragesimales*, Paris, 1520, is a stamp of the arms of Henry VIII impaling those of Catherine of Aragon. On the lower cover appear the royal arms of England copied from a woodcut used by Wynkyn de Worde and John Scolar (G. D. Hobson, *Blind-stamped panels in the English book-trade*, 1944, p. 40, nos. IV and V). A copy of Saint Vincent Ferrer's *Sermones*, 1509, has two rare panels, not previously represented in the Museum, which were used in England for the stationer Francis Egmont (G. D. Hobson, *Blind-stamped panels, &c.*, p. 17, nos. 1a and 1b). Egmont was in business in London from 1494 to 1503 and subsequently moved to Paris. One of the panels, showing two woodhouses (or Adam and Eve) holding a shield with a trademark and the initials f.i., is a very close copy of the device used by the Paris printer Philippe Pigouchet.

A seventeenth-century St. Omers printed book, *A Survey of the Apostasy of Marcus Antonius de Dominis ... translated by A.M.*, 1617, has part of an interesting contemporary woodcut paper wrapper. Only the lower half remains, depicting the wicked burning in Hell beneath what appears to be the badge of the Jesuit order.

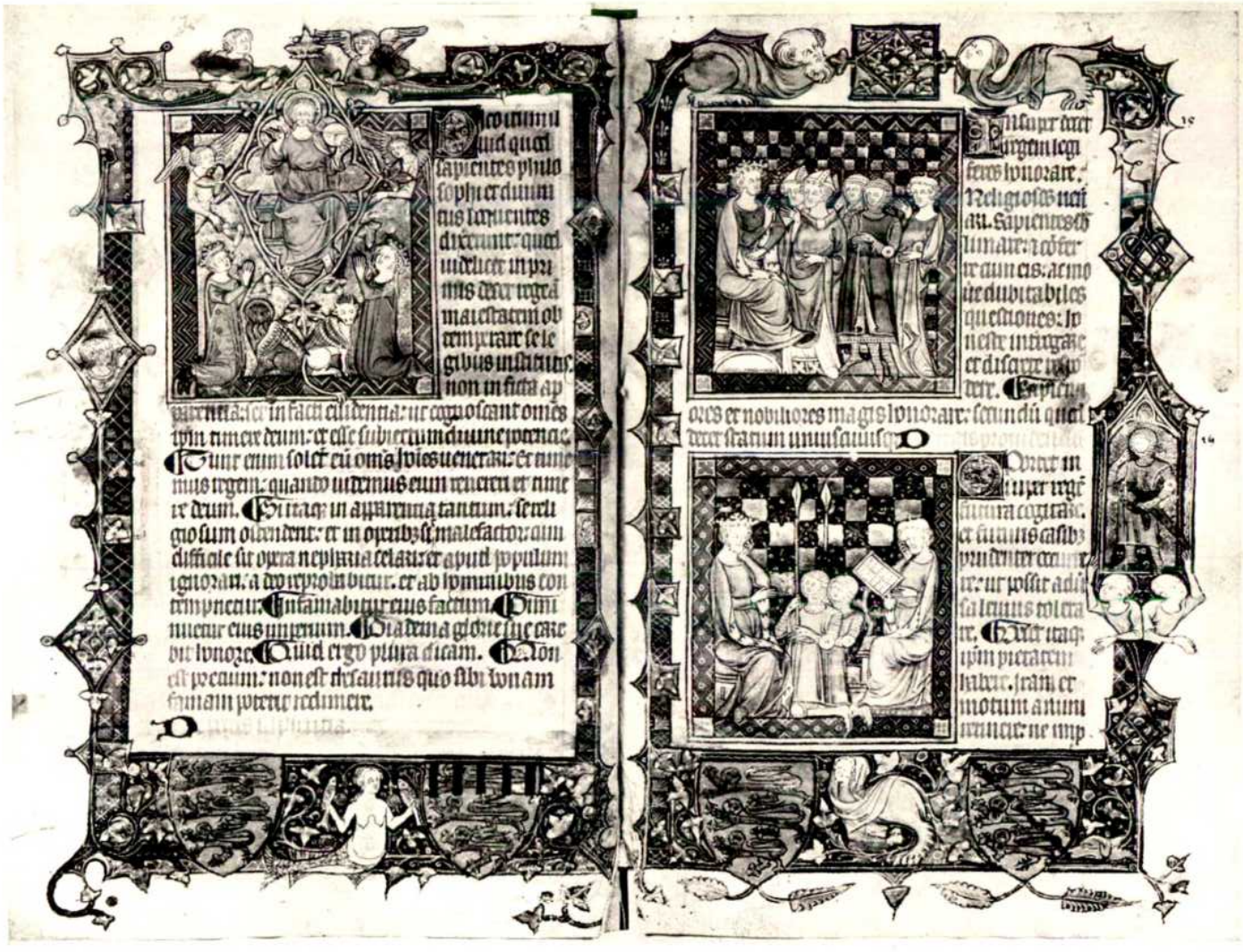
There are a number of good eighteenth-century armorial bindings with the Coke arms and a roll-tooled border in gold. Some of these are in red morocco and others in diced russia. It is possible that some of them are the work of Jean or John Robiquet, a London binder who was at work at Holkham in 1738.

The mid-nineteenth-century bindings are mostly the work of Clarke and Bedford, who were in partnership in London between 1841 and 1850, or of John Clarke alone. Local talent was, however, sometimes employed. An undated Netherlands edition of the *Sermones tredecim* of Michael de Ungaria and the undated Hardouyn Paris Book of Hours on vellum have each an oval ticket: Bound by SHALDERS, Yarmouth, booksellers and stationers. Both bindings are quite elaborately gold-tooled and bear the Coke crest, on a chapeau an ostrich with a horseshoe in its beak.

H. M. NIXON

IX. THE BIBLE PICTURE-BOOK: THE CREATOR

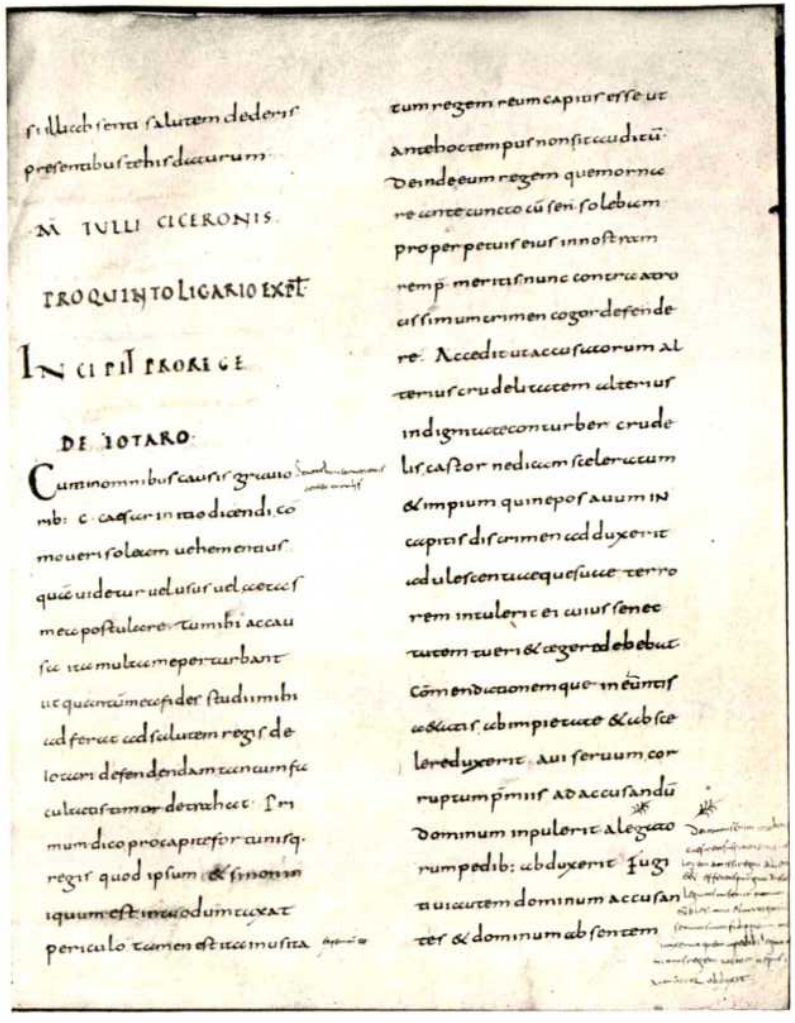
Early 14th cent.



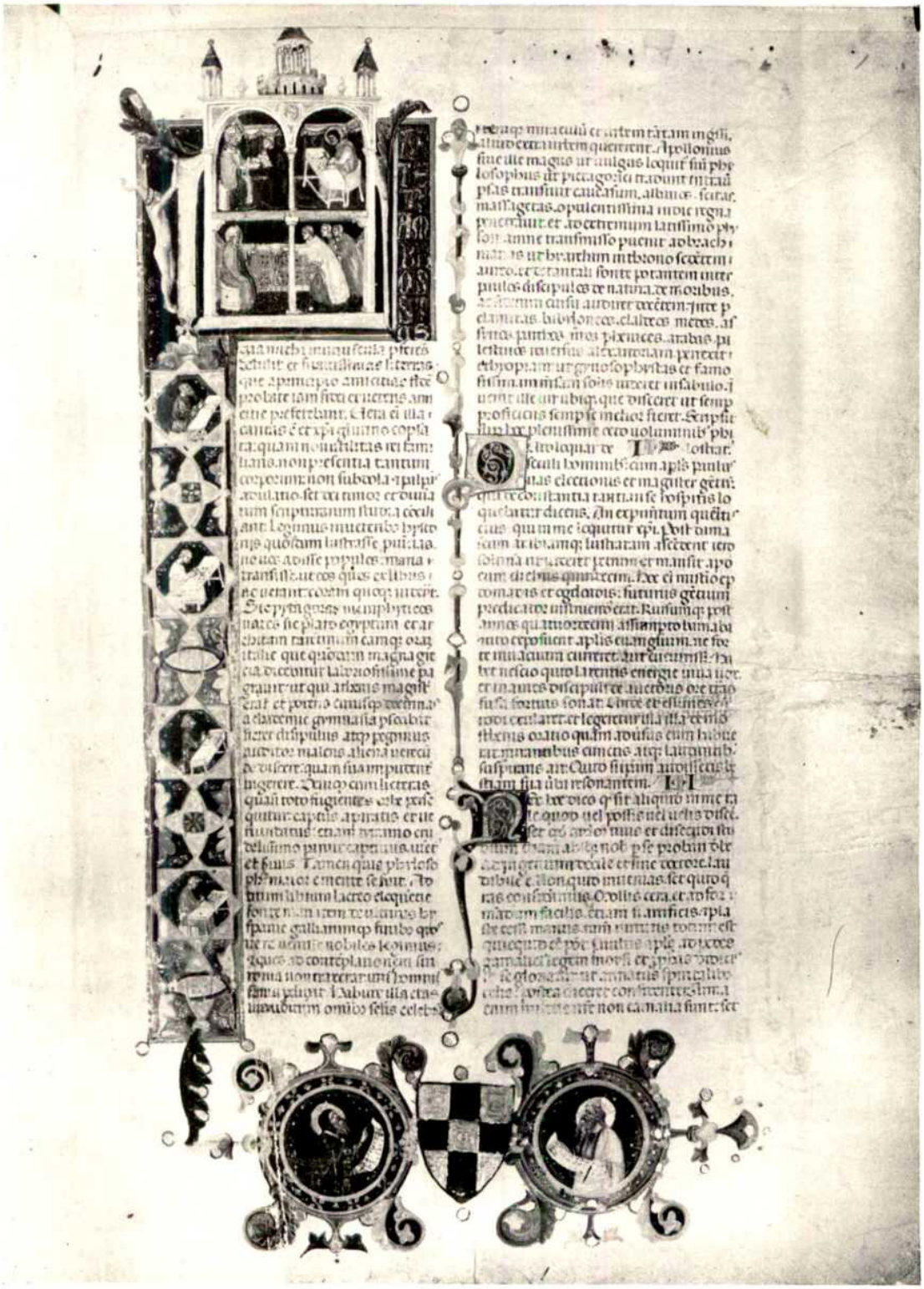
X. TREATISE PRESENTED BY WALTER DE MILEMETE TO EDWARD III

A.D. 1326-1327

XI. *a.* THE SCHUTTERN GOSPELS
Early 9th cent.

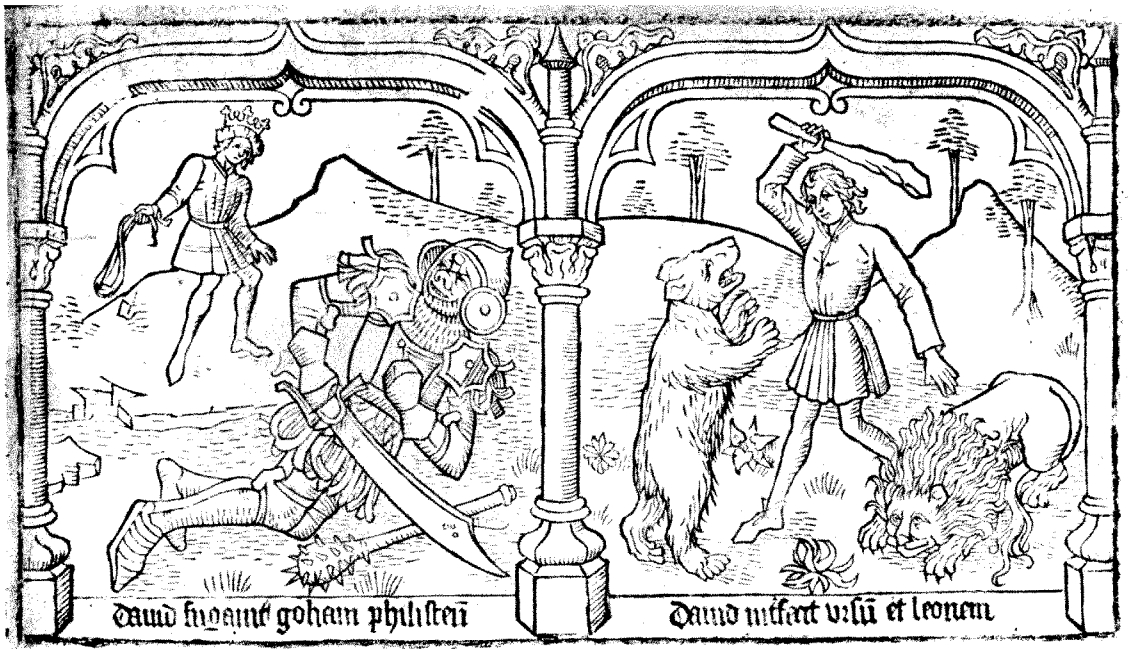


b. THE CLUNY CICERO
Early 9th cent.



XII. BIBLE OWNED BY THE ANTI-POPE CLEMENT VII

Mid 14th cent.



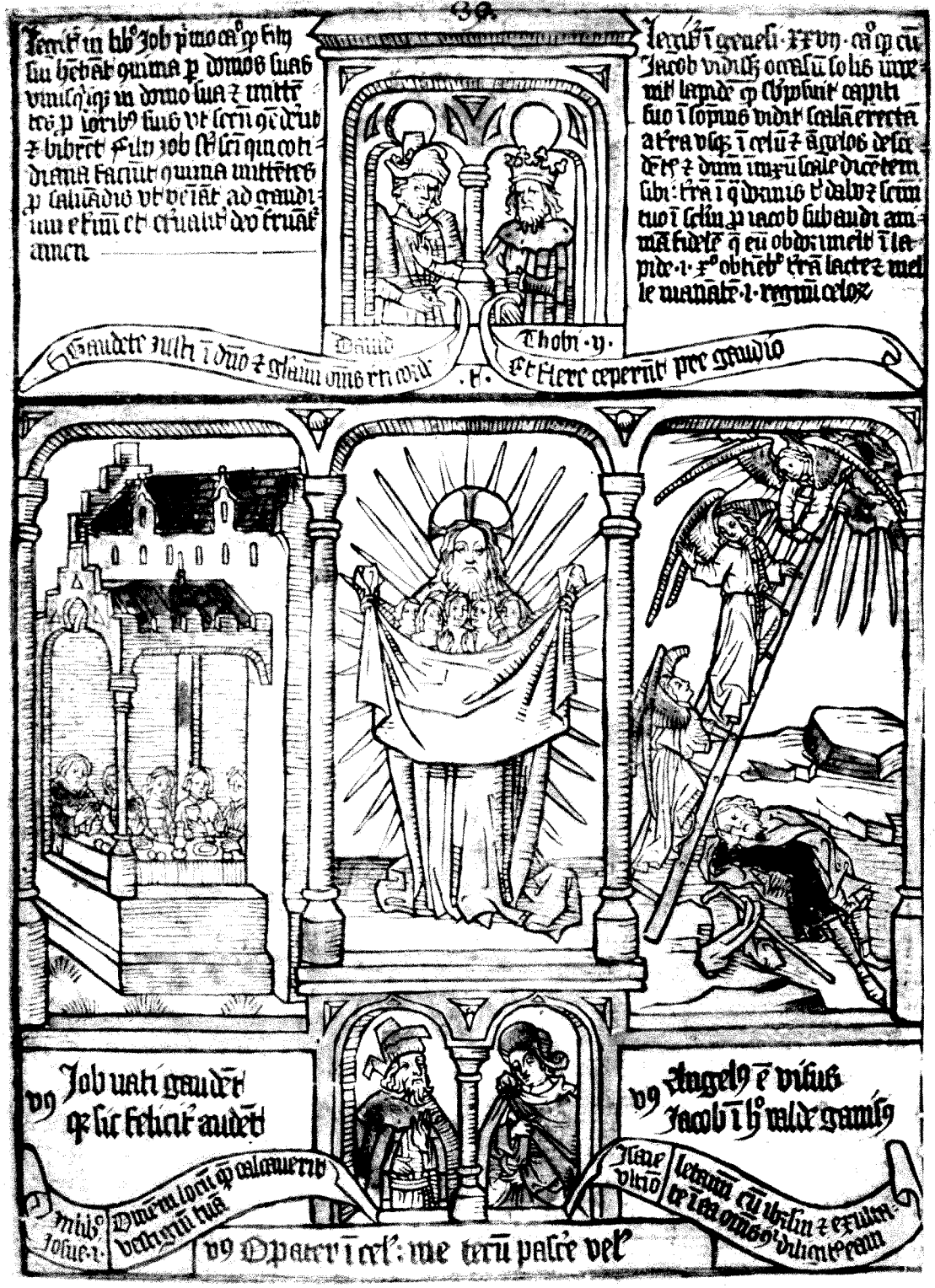
¶ Dauid vwan golyam den philistijn
hē die brodē vā zn mant lesse cāne wijs. ende
dat ghewoente vleisch vā. zi scapē die priesterē
ghighē des nachtes ondē die aerdē totē afgod
haer vriuē esi haer hinderē med hē leytēde esi
dterdē alle. welkē voertscapē daniel vāt bi
den throyē des alsthē Esi bi dē priesterē oerlo
dode hi die priesterē bel vderuēde Esi daer lach
oec een dmer i eenre spelūcke welche als volc
voer een vmoede Esi wt sekeerde vrē so dw
ech hē die priester sij spise. welke spise hi dā
berlic ontfangēde altijt daer bleef Daniel die
maecte enē dal vā pec vā vetheit esi vā hare
Esi bi des conincs oerlof so werp hi den balle
i des dmkē mōt. vā welkē doe hi den bal ter
stōt ghegeten had hi geborsten is Esi so sijn
beide die vlinders vdouen bi daniel Daniel
die beide dese gulligē ter aerden makede herde
gām voer bewesen die die prouīge vā gulliche
tijt vwā zps vwā oec den dmel i die bewō
ere houdien Esi dat is wilen eer voer bewe
ren i dmid ider nedre slacht vā golyas Goly
as bewoende hem so houerdelic vā sinē sterc
heit esi vmoede sijs gellijes neiment te wesen
am vā ismahelis hinderē Esi dmid werp hē ter
derdē mit eenre sligrēe Esi mits vā hulpē gods

¶ Derste conigē boec xvij capittel

¶ Daauid vsloech den beer esi den leeu
vsloech hi hē mit sijs selleks swaerd Dese ho
vdige golyas houdet i hē die figuere van luci
fer die hē gode gelijc begeerde te maken int
rijc vā hemelē Esi dauid die heerde die vsloech
desen gygās betrephēt zpm i die bewōge vā ho
vdiē sij vōsleidē esi oū al geneemal wāt li reg
neert oū al gelijc ondē dē leke n esi dē geestali
chen. Want dicke so vwinē hē die ydel glorie
esi die begeerte des mēschelikē loks esi gheen
anderē oudeechdē vwinen en mogē wāt die
wijl so stuyt een houdich hert ondē een snode
deert so wel als ondē eens keysers guldē pur
purē deert Derde wōr so ghinc zps dē viāt te
bouē i die bewōge vā ghiericheit esi dat is bi
dauid voer bewesen iden nedslacht des lewē
esi des beers. Gheuoechlic so bewisē die lewē
esi die beer ghiericheit wāt li roef doen i diē
dat li die scapen nemen Dauid die nā wedē sij
staep esi vsloech de rouers. ¶ Zps verwarp
vā hem den viant sathā i dien dat hi die be
coninghe bouen ghīc esi sathā also vā hem v
worpen quamen tot hem die engelen esi dié
den hē also ene seghe vechtēde dē duuel māli
ke teghen vecht die sal voerdach wesen des
dienst esi vgeselscap vengrijē

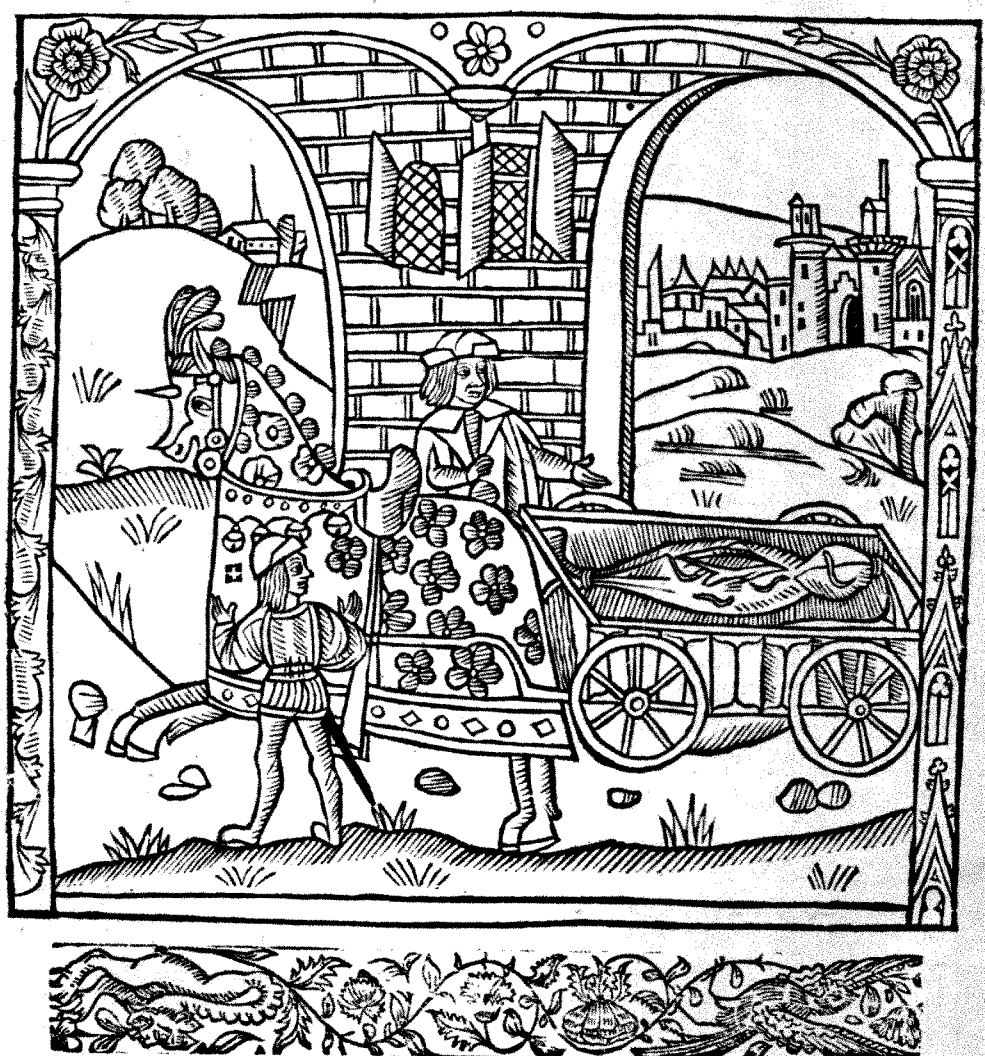
¶ Derste conighē boc xvij cap

XIII. A PAGE FROM THE *SPECULUM HUMANAE SALVATIONIS*, c. 1470

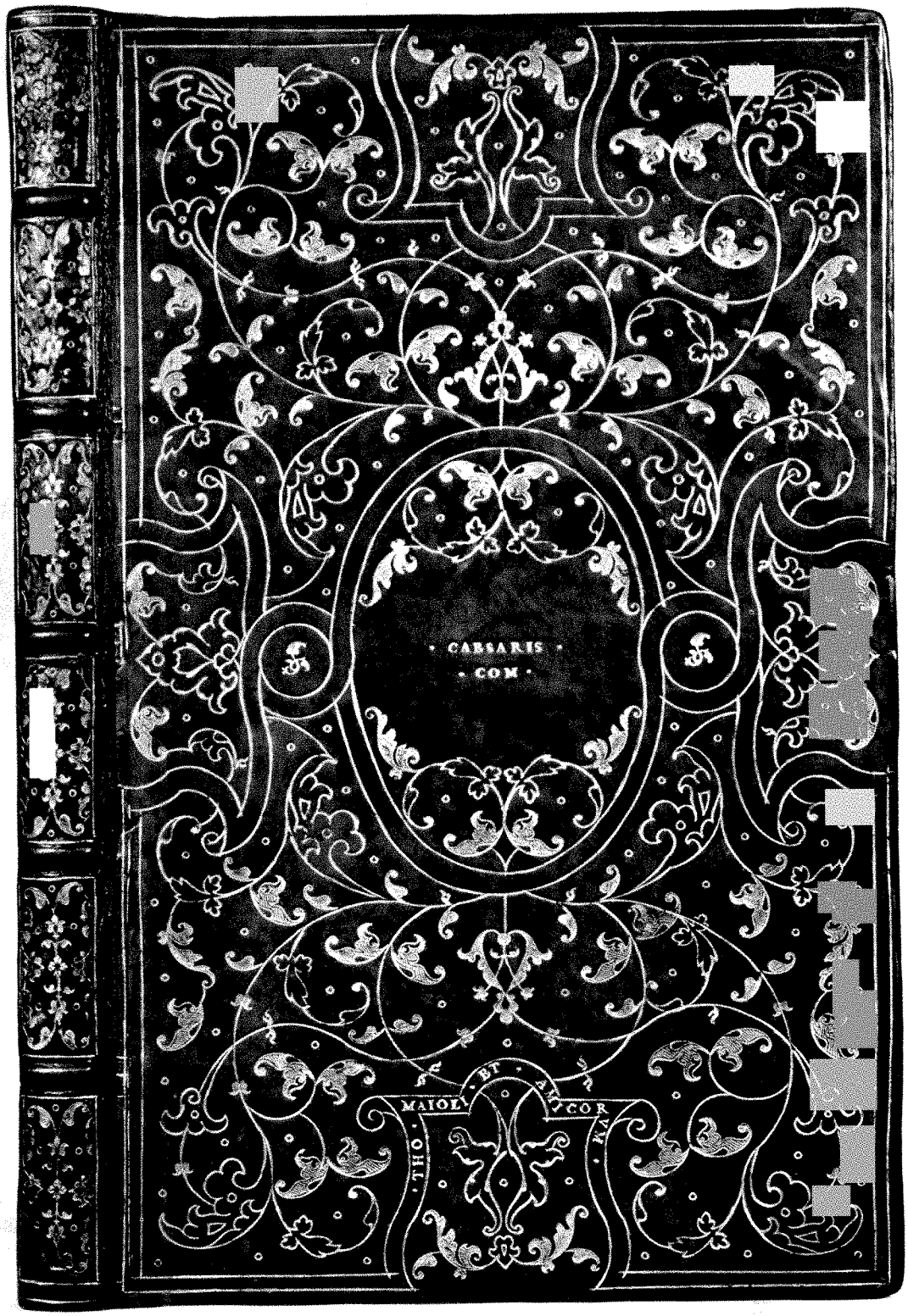


XIV. A PAGE FROM A BLOCKBOOK: THE *BIBLIA PAUPERUM*, *c.* 1465

The crafte to lyue well and to dye well.

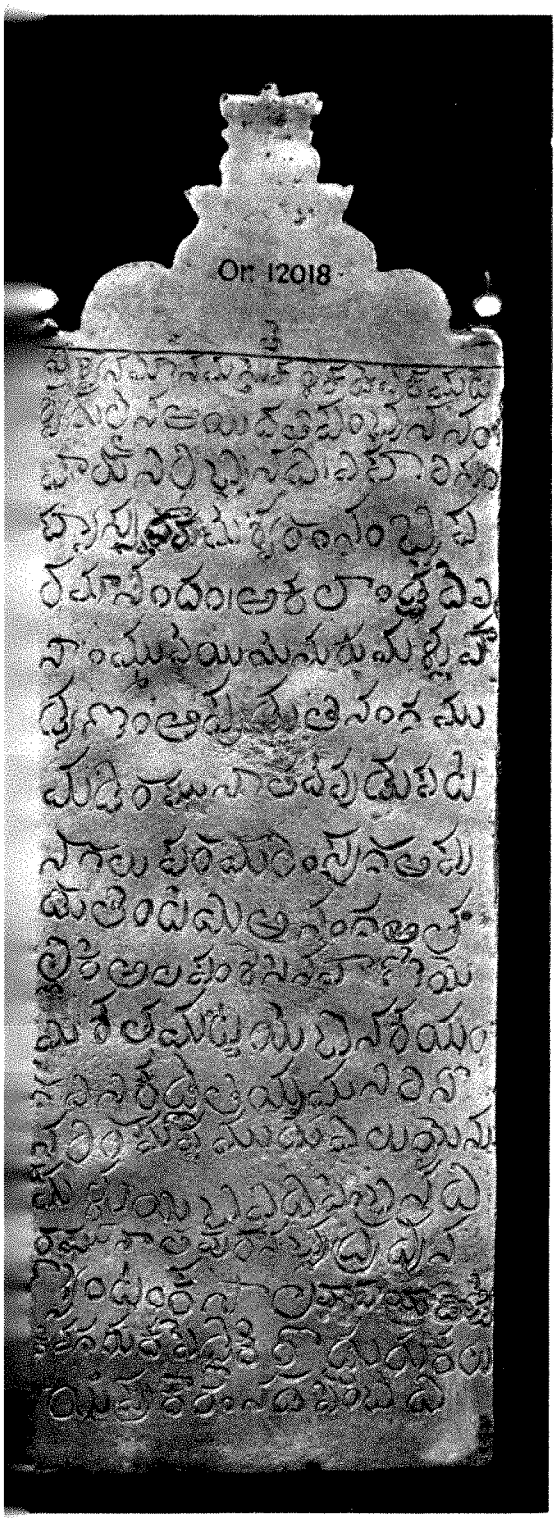


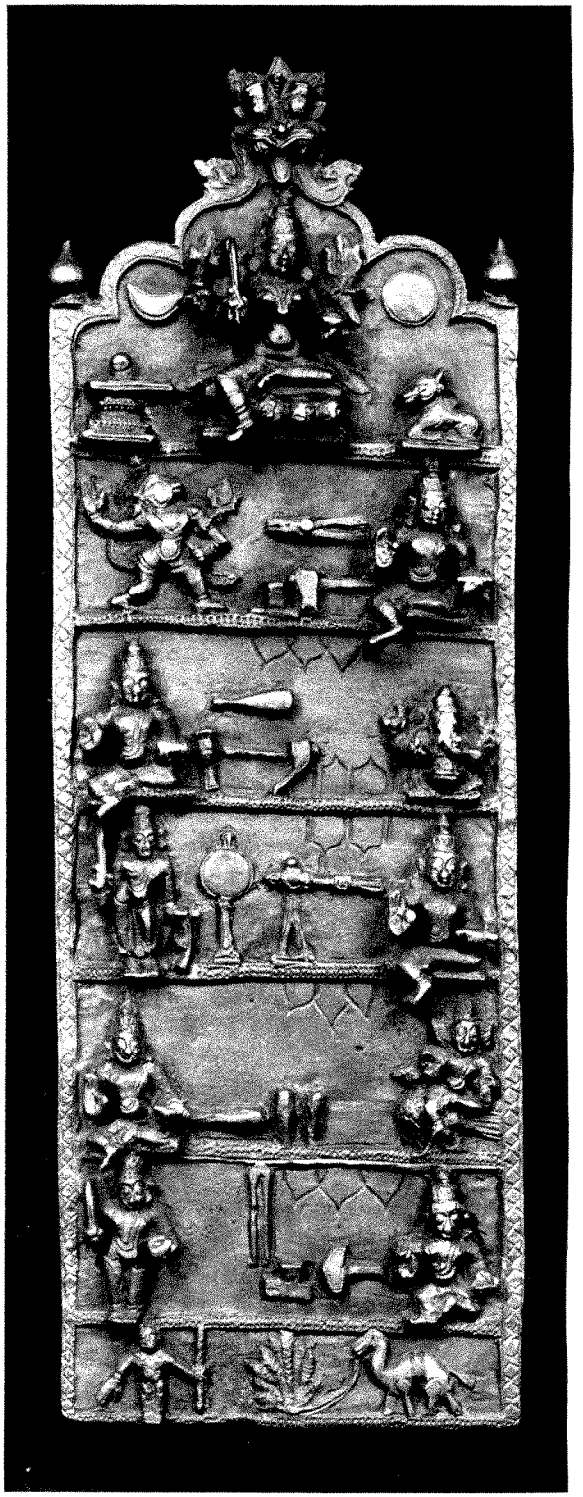
XV. *THE CRAFTE TO LYVE WELL AND TO DYE WELL*: WYNKYN DE WORDE, 1505



XVI. A BINDING EXECUTED FOR THOMAS MAHIEU, SECRETARY TO QUEEN CATHARINE DE' MEDICI

BRITISH MUSEUM QUARTERLY
VOLUME XVII. NUMBER 3. NOVEMBER 1952





XVII. A TELUGU PLATE

recording acts of a Governing Body of the Five Classes of Craftsmen

THE BRITISH MUSEUM QUARTERLY VOL. XVII. NO. 3

PUBLISHED BY
THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM
LONDON
1952

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

CONTENTS

Lili Marleen	*page* 41
A Telugu Plate	43
A Drawing by Hieronymus Bosch	45
Roman Coins	46
South Arabian Sculptures	47
British Museum Excavation at Hod Hill, Dorset	49
The Stanwick Sword	50
A Grave Guardian from Ch'ang-sha	52
Sandstone Head from Siam	57
An ancient Maori Bone-chest	58
Supplement to the Catalogue of Italian Drawings, XIV–XV Centuries	61

PLATES

XVII. A Telugu Plate recording acts of a Governing Body of the Five Classes of Craftsmen

XVIII. Drawing by Hieronymus Bosch: *The Entombment*

XIX. Roman Coins

XX. *a.* Bust of a woman, holding a sheaf of corn: South Arabian: about 2nd century A.D.
b. Head of a bull-calf: South Arabian: about 2nd century A.D.

XXI. *a.* Bronze statuettes in native and in Greek style: South Arabian
b. Head of a man, from South Arabia: about 2nd century A.D.
c. Early Iron Age sword and scabbard from Stanwick, North Riding, Yorkshire

XXII. Hod Hill, Dorset: The Roman Fort, from the north

XXIII. Sepulchral Figure with deer's antlers: excavated at Ch'ang-sha, Hunan Province, Central China: 4th or 3rd century B.C.

XXIV. Head of Buddha: Siamese: Lopburi style: early 13th century

XXV. Ancient Maori Bone-chest

Supplement to the Catalogue of Italian Drawings, XIV–XV Centuries

Plate No.	*Catalogue No.*	
I	*57a recto* *57a verso*	Attributed to Francesco di Simone
II	*231a*	After Cosimo Rosselli
III	*257a*	Vecchietta, or Studio of Vecchietta
IV	*257b, c, d, e*	Studio of Vecchietta

LILI MARLEEN

DURING the First World War a good many songs were composed which became very popular, of which some, such as 'Tipperary', 'Mademoiselle from Armentières', and 'Pack up your Troubles', are still heard today. The last war, on the contrary, did not prove similarly productive, although it did bring world-wide fame to one song, 'Lili Marleen', of which the rare first published edition has recently been added to the Collections of Printed Music.

Since the extraordinary history of this song is not perhaps generally known, it deserves a brief summary.[1]

In 1915 a Prussian soldier named Hans Leip was in love with two young ladies, but uncertain which he preferred. Their names were 'Lili' and 'Marleen'. During a turn of night duty in front of the Fusilier Guards Barracks he was moved to compose some verses in which their attractions and names became unified. The first verse runs as follows:

Vor der Kaserne,
vor dem großen Tor
stand eine Laterne,
und steht sie noch davor,
so wolln wir uns da wiedersehn,
bei der Laterne wolln wir stehn
wie einst, Lili Marleen.

Before being drafted to the Carpathian Front, Herr Leip, having some musical talent, himself composed a melody for this poem. But it was not until long after the war when he had won some literary reputation, that the poem, without the melody, was published in 1937 in a collection of his verses entitled 'Die kleine Hafenorgel'[2] (Christian Wegner Verlag, Hamburg). Shortly afterwards the book came into the hands of a Berlin composer named Norbert Schultze, who was attracted by them and set ten of them to music. Then, with the permission of author and composer, a cabaret singer named Lale Andersen made gramophone records of a few of the songs (apparently from a manuscript copy) including Lili Marleen. Although the exact date of this recording (made on German Electrola E.G. 6993) cannot at present be traced, it was probably only a year or two at the most before its reissue on an H.M.V. record in 1940. The first published edition,[3] which has an attractive illustrated cover, is entitled 'Lili Marleen. Nach Gedichten von Hans Leip. Musik: Norbert Schultze für Gesang und Klavier', and was issued by Apollo-Verlag (Paul Lincke) of Berlin. 'Lili Marleen' is the first of five songs in this collection, which is not, however,

included in Hofmeister's 'Jahresverzeichnis' for 1940. The first mention of the song in this bibliography is that of an arrangement issued in 1941. Later editions, arrangements, and imitations appeared in many countries, including an imaginary English sequel entitled 'The Wedding of Lily Marlene'.

When in 1941 the German Army invaded Yugoslavia Belgrade Radio Station was taken over by the German Forces Network. It soon found itself in need of records to play as incidental music. Since local supplies proved inadequate, some old records were sent from Vienna and among them was 'Lili Marleen'. The haunting song caught the imagination of the German Army on many fronts, and it gained an almost unprecedented popularity, despite official attempts to ban it on the grounds that its nostalgic mood was bad for morale. By the time of the Battle of Alamein the song was familiar to the British Army as well. Before long, the possibilities of 'Lili Marleen' for counter-propaganda were realized by the Command of the Eighth Army. With different words, even more demoralizing in character, the song was 'plugged' at German troops in the Western Desert through loudspeakers. This was related in the memorable film 'The True Story of Lili Marleen' which was made by the Crown Film Unit, directed by Humphrey Jennings, and released by Pathé in June 1944.

During the Second World War Herr Leip published another song entitled 'Lied im Schutt', which was perhaps unwise at a time when German cities were being bombed to rubble. To escape the attentions of the Gestapo, who regarded the song as subversive, the author was smuggled away by the firm of Cotta, his publishers, to guard their Goethe and Schiller archives concealed in the Austrian mountains. There he was found in 1945 by the American 'Rainbow' Division.

At last in 1948, having survived two wars, Herr Leip published for the first time his own original melody for Lili Marleen, which he had composed thirty-three years before. It is to be found in a collection of his poems entitled 'Frühe Lieder. Mit Singweisen und Holzschnitten vom Verfasser', published by the Hamburgische Bücherei. This too, has been purchased for the British Museum, not as being a rare book, but in order to complete the bibliographical sources of 'Lili Marleen'.

A. Hyatt King

[1] After abortive attempts to secure the first edition of the song through the regular music trade, it was acquired through the kind co-operation of Mr. Benjamin Carr, to whom acknowledgement is also due for supplying some of the historical facts in this article. These facts were given to Mr. Carr by Herr Hans Leip himself.

[2] i.e. Accordion. The word appears to be confined to the neighbourhood of Hamburg.

[3] A privately printed edition was issued in 1939.

A TELUGU PLATE

THE Department of Oriental Printed Books and MSS. has lately acquired a somewhat unusual South Indian document of the late medieval or early modern period, of which a photographic copy is presented herewith. It is a plate of some copper alloy, measuring 26 cm. by 9 cm., and has been given the number Or. 12018. On one side of it is incised an official announcement in Telugu, while the other side is adorned with seven panels containing small figures in high relief surmounted by a skilfully made effigy of the goddess Kāḷikā or Kālī (Pl. xvii).

While the little figures on the other side are of excellent craftsmanship, the inscription is quite the reverse, being clumsily written and abounding in wrong spellings and *scripturae defectivae*. Evidently it was cut from a draft made by a very imperfectly educated man, and hence it seems hardly possible to produce an accurate translation, the more so as it deals with technical matters of which we know little. Nevertheless it is possible to make out the meaning of the greater part of it.[1]

After salutation to the primordial deity Viśvakarman, the exordium, comprised in lines 1–2, tells us that the plate was prepared by order of the Committee of Five consisting of the Māhēśvaras in the service of the goddess Kāḷikā. The term Māhēśvara, a title denoting leading worshippers of the god Śiva Mahēśvara ('Great Lord'), occurs in many Indian records; in the present instance this rank was held by the Committee of Five who were the heads of a local syndicate of the five classes of handicraftsmen (Pañca-kammāḷar, Pañca-kārukar, or Pañcāḷar, as they are usually styled), namely the goldsmiths, carpenters, blacksmiths, braziers, and stonecutters. In their quality as Māhēśvaras this Committee controlled the worship of the goddess Kāḷikā or Kālī (Pārvatī, Durgā, or Akhilāṇḍa-dēvī), the spouse of Śiva, whose figure heads the other side of the plate.

Then follow details of gifts. On lines 3–10 is an announcement by three merchants (*vipāri*) named Sampāsa, Paramēśvara, and Paramānanda that they had made a donation of 1,100 gold *gadyāṇas* as a fund [under the charge] of the goddess Akhilāṇḍa-dēvī in order to replace completely the jewels of the god Mummaḍi Raghunātha (Rāma). This is followed on lines 10–13 by an obscure announcement of an arrangement for rewarding the man who should have performed *alapaṃ* to the Mother (i.e. the Goddess). The term *alapaṃ* apparently should be read as *ālāpaṃ*, which may signify either a musical prelude or a sermon, &c. What the reward was is not clear: it seems to be a reserved share or levy of *kaḍle* in the evening(?) sacrifice. *Kaḍle* is not found in Telugu dictionaries. In Kanarese it means gram (*cicer arietinum*); this does not seem very appropriate here, but it may be noted that in many parts of India gram mixed with wheaten flour is an important food of the humbler classes, and in some of the festivals of

this cult of Viśvakarman held in Bengal by craftsmen they make *bhaduā*, cakes of flour, which they mix with rice and sweets and eat, washing them down with liquor from flowers of the *mahūā* (*Bassia latifolia*). Lines 13–15 tell us that a goldsmith, whose mis-spelt name seems to be Rāmavarmuḍu, had drawn out and presented 100 half-pagodas. The final paragraph (lines 16–19) states that the officers of the Mint for gold-coinage (reading *candravu nāṇyam*) in Raghunāthapura had accordingly issued free of charge on account of this sum many *rūkalu* (fanams) in small coin. Apparently they issued a large number of small coppers, retaining a corresponding gold cover. The coin called *rūka* or *fanam* was worth 1¼ annas or 2½ annas according as it was of the smaller or larger currency; here, it seems, the coins issued were of the smaller currency.

The other side of the plate gives us lively illustrations of these craftsmen's theology. Of the seven panels into which it is divided, the first contains in the centre a figure of the grim goddess Kāḷikā or Kālī holding a sword and a bowl, with Śiva's trident and drum (*ḍamaruka*) behind her shoulders, and sitting on a throne on the front of which are three severed heads; on her right and left are the sun, moon, the sacred bull Nandi, and a *liṅga-yōni*. The next five panels are concerned with the several crafts and their associated divinities. In the middle of each panel are the instruments of each handicraft; and each panel contains two figures, one at each side. With the primordial deity Viśvakarman are associated five Ṛṣis or divine saints, named Sānaga, Sanātana, Ahabhūna (or Abhuvana), Pratna, and Suparṇa, one for each of the five crafts; and apparently one of the two figures in each of the panels is intended to represent one of these Ṛṣis. Who the other figures in the panels are meant to be is not clear, with the exception of the one in third panel, which is Gaṇēśa. The significance of the seventh panel, on which we see an animal, somewhat suggesting a camel, tied to a tree, and at the side a human figure with a staff, is still more obscure.

L. D. BARNETT

[1] In the interpretation of this record I have been greatly aided by Mr. Alfred Master, C.I.E., who has favoured me with a number of very helpful suggestions.

A DRAWING BY HIERONYMUS BOSCH

THE most important among the drawings from Pepper Arden Hall recently presented to the Department by the National Art-Collections Fund is undoubtedly the composition of *The Entombment* by Hieronymus Bosch[1] (Pl. XVIII), a subject which he is not known to have represented except in the most summary fashion, in monochrome, in the background of the reverse of the *St. John on Patmos* at Berlin. In the new drawing the theme is treated with a simple piety, and the oddity conspicuous in most of Bosch's religious compositions is absent, except perhaps in the costume of St. Joseph of Arimathaea on the extreme right.

The authorship of Bosch seems sufficiently established by the types and character of the figures, but the attribution is reinforced by what appears to be an actual signature on the front of the sarcophagus, written in the faint grey chalk which is visible occasionally in other parts of the drawing and in which the composition was first of all sketched out. The signature, in the form JHERONIMUS BOSSCHE(?), occurs on some authentic paintings and on engravings from compositions by Bosch: the fact that it was not recognized by the eighteenth-century owner, who attributed the drawing to 'Israel van Meck', is in favour of its authenticity.

Most of the accepted drawings by Bosch are rather rapid and summary sketches in pen and ink, but there are two elaborately finished drawings in the Louvre corresponding with pictures by him which show a very close resemblance in their technique to the present drawing. One is *The Death of a Miser* for the painting of the subject formerly in the collection of Baron von der Elst, and the other is *The Concert*, which corresponds with the painting in the Louvre. It is true that recent writers on Bosch have regarded these two drawings as copies, but their character seems to me to point to their being original drawings of the type which the Italians would have termed a *modello*. Though both of these differ from *The Entombment* in being drawn on grey grounds and heightened with white, their actual brushwork is exactly similar to that of the present drawing. We can also note a very close resemblance between the style of grisaille paintings by Bosch, of which there are a number, and that of *The Entombment*.

In any case the drawing is one of great interest and importance, and a valuable addition to the Department, where Bosch is only represented by one drawing of doubtful authenticity.

A. E. POPHAM

[1] Drawn with the point of the brush and indian ink over a sketch in black chalk. 25 × 35 cm.

ROMAN COINS

THE largest and most important addition to the collection of Roman coins for many years was made by the bequest of the late J. W. E. Pearce. From this collection, covering the later fourth and early fifth centuries A.D. and probably the most complete ever formed for this period, the Museum selected 848 silver coins and 1,971 bronze pieces. Thanks to this generous gift the Museum now possesses, for this period, an unrivalled collection which is important not only for numismatics but also for history at a time when other sources are slight. Examples from the long sequences of bronze coins which demonstrate the *officinae* arrangements of the complex of mints show fine portraits of the emperor Gratian, A.D. 375–83 (Pl. XIX, 1), Theodosius the Great, A.D. 379–95 (Pl. XIX, 2), the last emperor to rule over the whole Roman Empire, his wife Flaccilla (Pl. XIX, 3), and his son Arcadius (Pl. XIX, 4), above whose head a divine hand holds a wreath—a feature which survived in medieval coinages. Among the many rare coins from this collection were *siliquae* of the usurper Procopius, A.D. 365–6, struck at Cyzicus, with an optimistic inscription VOT V for the quinquennial *vota* on the reverse (Pl. XIX, 5) and of Flavius Victor (Pl. XIX, 6), son of Magnus Maximus usurper in the west from the mint of Milan with reverse *Virtus Romanorum* showing a seated figure of Roma. Pl. XIX, 7 shows a similar reverse linked with the bearded portrait of Eugenius (A.D. 392–4), the last of the pagan emperors. A rare silver *miliarense* of the emperor Valens (A.D. 364–78) from the mint of Treveri praises the valour of the army whose personification is shown holding the *labarum* in place of the legionary standard (Pl. XIX, 9).

A recent acquisition by purchase is a silver *quinarius* of the emperor Severus Alexander, A.D. 222–35 (Pl. XIX, 8). The *quinarius* was an infrequent denomination even in the early empire and in the third century it becomes increasingly rarer. The reverse depicts Annona, the goddess of the corn supply. The *modius* or corn measure at her feet symbolizes her function and her foot, placed on the prow of a ship, is an allusion to the corn fleet which plied between Egypt and the metropolis.

From the final sale of the Ryan collection of Roman coins the Museum acquired some notable bronze coins including the *sestertius* (Pl. XIX, 10) with a fine portrait of Commodus and a delightful reverse showing the Four Seasons as four little boys at play. Three *sestertii* were also acquired, recording Hadrian's travels in the provinces, alluding to his visits to Sicily, Moesia, and Phrygia. A *sestertius* presented by the former Keeper, Mr. E. S. G. Robinson, shows an unusual variety of the *Judaea Capta* reverse, celebrating the victory over the Jews. The reverse is divided by a palm-tree, to the left of which stands Titus

and, to the right, a captive Jew. Only two other examples of this reverse[1] are known and in conjunction with this obverse of Titus (Pl. XIX, 11) is perhaps unique. R. A. G. CARSON

[1] With *obv.* of Vespasian, cf. *N.C.* 1946, p. 11; with *obv.* of Titus, cf. Ryan Sale, 2 Apr. 1952, lot 2382.

SOUTH ARABIAN SCULPTURES

THE earliest allusion to the civilization of South Arabia is the story in the Old Testament (1 Kings 10) about the Queen of Sheba's visit to King Solomon. This may well rest on a basis of fact, as the tradition describing Solomon's interests in the Phoenician trade with India, based on Ezion Geber (Elath) in the Gulf of Aqaba (1 Kings 9), has been shown by excavations there to be well founded. Sheba is the South Arabian Kingdom of Saba, and these trading expeditions would have passed along the Sabaean sphere of interest down the Arabian coast. References to South Arabian kingdoms exist in the Assyrian annals of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., but very few actual remains have as yet been discovered in Arabia earlier than the fifth–fourth centuries B.C. There were then three kingdoms: Saba (Sheba) in modern Yemen, Qataban in modern Ḥadhramaut, and Ma'in between the two. The first two were probably at first vassals of the last. About 300 B.C. Qataban emerged as the ruling kingdom, but about 115 B.C. Saba became the dominant power jointly with Dhu-Raidan. Saba sank into obscurity during the first century B.C. and her place was taken by Qataban and Ḥadhramaut.

All these kingdoms grew wealthy largely by reason of the trade in incense (especially frankincense, native to Arabia, great quantities of which were consumed in the temples of the ancient world), and a large population was maintained in what is now mainly desert by great irrigation works such as the dam of Marib. In about 25 B.C. the Hellenistic world discovered the important secret, probably long known to Arabs and Phoenicians, that, by using the monsoons, sailing craft could ply straight from Aden to India and return the same year. South Arabia thereby acquired fresh importance as a stepping-stone to the wealth of India. By the third century A.D. the colonizing influence of the Sabaeans had spread to Abyssinia (which still uses the Ethiopic alphabet derived from Saba), and in the fourth to sixth centuries there were bitter wars across the Red Sea between pagan Arabia and Abyssinia, soon converted to Christianity with Byzantine support.

Very little is known even today about the civilization of South Arabia. This Museum, however, possesses a fine collection of sculptures and inscriptions from that region. A recent addition of unusual merit is a funerary portrait in calcite

(130880, 10⅛″ high) of a lady named 'Aban, of the clan of Maḥdhar, probably from Qataban (Pl. xx *a*). She is represented staring firmly to the front (as is common in the art of Palmyra and Dura), reclining with a covering over her waist and holding a bunch of cornstalks in her hand. The top of her head, as is usual in these portraits, is planed off horizontally. The stiff and stylized character of the portrait is softened by the smooth, polished, and rounded surfaces and the pleasing curve of the covering at her waist. The date of this piece is probably the second century A.D.

At the same time the collections have been enriched by a handsome gift of South Arabian pieces presented by the late Sir Antonin Besse. The first illustrates another female figure exactly like the one we have described. Her name is given, however, as Kar'at Dharḥan (130881, 12″ high). Next come eight heads, all but one apparently female. The male head (130890, 8½″ high—Pl. xxi *b*) is bearded and moustachioed and has the edges of the eye elongated, doubtless to represent eye-paint. The eyes of most of these heads were originally inlaid. Some recent evidence shows that heads of this sort were made to be fitted on to the tops of tall stelae which bore the deceased's name.

There are further two small full-length figures in high relief with hands clasped (130886–7) and three heads of bull calves in very high relief, all originally set on an upright slab, from which, however, some are broken (130883–5). One of these (130885) bears a person's name, Ab'am Ḥaẓr; two others (Plate xx *b* shows one) are uninscribed. Whether these were temple dedications or some funerary monument is not clear. They are, however, interesting for the study of South Arabian art. Uninfluenced by ancient Egypt, the art of South Arabia prefers to follow the tendencies of western Asia in resolving the shapes of animal bodies into a complex of linear formulae, which guide and integrate the plastic surfaces of the body and emphasize such details as muscles and folds. This produces a conservative, though sometimes strong and pleasing, effect. Of this style the present calves' heads, with their wrinkled eyebrows and nostrils, are excellent examples.

In contrast to this tradition of ancient Asiatic art with its rigid and symbolic figures, South Arabia in later times also felt an entirely different current, that of Hellenistic art, naturalistic, graceful and pliant. These two contrasted currents are well illustrated in two small bronzes in the same collection received from Sir Antonin Besse. One is a crude, almost comic, little figure in native style with hands extended (130902, 3¼″ high), the other is the figure of a nude girl of the type of a Greek Aphrodite (130901, 6″ high), wearing a crown, and turning with a supple movement of the body while holding her breasts (Pl. xxi *a*).

R. D. Barnett

BRITISH MUSEUM EXCAVATION AT HOD HILL, DORSET

I

THE prehistoric hillfort which crowns Hod Hill, 3¼ miles north-west of Blandford, Dorset, is one of the finest of the multivallate forts of Wessex. With its neighbour on Hambledon it flanks, on the north side, the Stour gap between the chalk uplands of Cranborne Chase and those of the Dorset downs. What makes the site unique, however, is that at the time of the Claudian conquest, the Romans enclosed one corner of the prehistoric stronghold with a rampart and ditches and made it into a fort. From the archaeological point of view Hod Hill is a key site, the excavation of which should help to solve many problems (Pl. XXII).

Many Roman and Early Iron Age antiquities were turned up when the interior of the Roman fort and part of the Iron Age enclosure outside it were first ploughed during the nineteenth century. These were collected by Mr. Durden of Blandford, and the greater part were acquired by the British Museum in 1892 and 1893. A proper archaeological background provided by excavation is required for this remarkable collection, and the need for excavation became pressing when, during the war of 1939–45, and subsequently, the hilltop again came under cultivation, and further damage was caused to the defences and internal features. Since the British Museum excavation started the area has been put under grass, and it is hoped that it will be allowed to remain so at least until the excavation is completed.

Small-scale excavations were carried out at Hod Hill by Professor Boyd Dawkins in 1897, and in 1949 the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities carried out a small 'reconnaissance' excavation. Full-scale excavation had not been attempted before the current undertaking began in 1951 under the direction of Professor I. A. Richmond.

The warmest thanks are due to the owner of the site, Mr. Richard Draper, not only for permission to excavate, but also for much kindness and material help readily given.

J. W. BRAILSFORD

II

EXCAVATIONS have been continued at Hod Hill under the direction of Professor I. A. Richmond and with the assistance of Mr. J. W. Brailsford between 5 May and 14 June 1952. A further week was devoted to filling in the trenches.

It was possible this year to examine the internal buildings of the northern half of the Roman fort covering an area of 400 × 300 ft. The buildings identified were the headquarters building (*principia*), the commandant's house (*praetorium*),

three barrack blocks for infantry with facing kit-stores, three much smaller barrack blocks for cavalry with stables adjacent, and a large house-like building which is not yet fully excavated and of which the purpose must therefore remain unidentified until next season when it is hoped to complete the work upon the other half of the fort. All the buildings have been timber-framed with an infilling of wattle and daub. All have also been systematically reconstructed to the same plan at no great interval of time after they had been first built. Associated finds have as yet been few, owing to the fact that the Roman floors have been largely removed by ploughing. This accounts for the large number of finds from the site already in possession of the Museum. There have, however, been found good examples of Claudian Samian ware and a coin of Claudius, the last from the bottom of a rubbish pit associated with one of the cavalry barracks.

It should be emphasized that the hope originally expressed that the excavation of the site would give a detailed picture of one of the earliest Roman forts in this country is being very amply fulfilled. It is not too much to say that continuation of the work will result in the recovery of a classic example of a Claudian fort, hitherto lacking in the archaeology of Roman Britain. In addition to the examination of the internal buildings it is hoped next year to complete the study of the defences, in particular the rampart and associated gun-platforms (*ballistaria*), and also to strip completely a portion of the fort selected upon the basis of the knowledge of the plan which will then have been gained. Subsequent seasons will then be devoted to the excavation of the Iron Age native fort, of which one corner is occupied by the Roman fort, and to the relationship between the two works.

I. A. RICHMOND

THE STANWICK SWORD

THE excavation of the great earthworks at Stanwick, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, is a unique enterprise, in that there for the first time an excavation organized by the Ministry of Works under the Ancient Monuments Act is being carried out, not as a salvage operation under pressure of necessity but as a freely and deliberately selected piece of archaeological research. The excavation, which is directed by Sir Mortimer Wheeler, produced during its first season in 1951[1] at least one unique find, an iron sword in a perfectly preserved bronze-bound ash-wood scabbard. The grip of the sword is missing. These objects (Pl. XXI *c*) are native work of the first century A.D.; they were found one foot above the bottom of the ditch of the Phase II enclosure. The landowners, Major and Mrs. M. C. Donovan, have generously presented them to the Museum, and they are now exhibited in the Prehistoric Room. The extraction of the sword from the scabbard, and the permanent preservation of both, is a remarkable

technical achievement on the part of Dr. H. J. Plenderleith and his staff of the Research Laboratory.

This is not the first time that the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities has been enriched by finds from Stanwick. Indeed, this site provided the 'foundation-stone' of the Department's collections[2] in the form of the great hoard of native bronzes, mostly chariot-gear and harness-fittings, which was found near the earthworks in 1844.[3]

The sword found in 1951 is 32·8 inches long; the blade is 1·9 inches wide just below the tang, and the edges are almost parallel to within 3 inches of the point. The tang measures 5·2 inches and has a slight knob at the tip.

The scabbard, which is 28·75 inches in length, is made from two pieces of ash-wood, held together by nine elliptical bronze mounts which are grooved on the outer faces. To the front of the topmost mount there is attached a semi-circular plate, bordered with three grooves, and divided into two lentoid sections, each of which has a dot and double-circle device in the centre. The effect suggests a pair of eyes, but the two circular features are in fact a reminiscence of the studs found on some earlier scabbards. The second and third mounts are connected by a belt-loop at the back. The bronze chape is in the form of a blunt 'V', with a button at the point. There is a simple quatrefoil design at the top of each side.[4]

The scabbard does not fall into any of the groups recently defined by Professor Piggott,[5] but as with his Group VI, the button terminal of the chape is probably ultimately derived from a Roman model. Wooden scabbards were no doubt used in the British Iron Age, but this is the first example to have been preserved. A similar method of construction to that of the Stanwick scabbard was used, for scabbards of very different form, among the Teutonic peoples during the La Tène period.[6]

It is probable that the main defences at Stanwick were constructed at the time of the last Roman campaign against the Brigantes between A.D. 69 and A.D. 74, and the sword must have found its way into the ditch very soon after it had been dug. It is not a Brigantian type:[7] perhaps it was brought to the Brigantian stronghold by some ally from farther south, to be used in the final unsuccessful stand against the encroaching power of Rome.

J. W. BRAILSFORD

[1] *Antiquaries Journal*, xxxii (1952), pp. 1 ff.

[2] Sir Thomas Kendrick, *Museums Journal*, li, No. 6 (Sept. 1951), p. 139.

[3] *Early Iron Age Guide*, pp. 138 ff.; *Royal Archaeological Institute, York Volume*, 1846, pls. ii–iv; *Victoria County History, Yorks.*, i, p. 389.

[4] Cf. a similar chape found unstratified in the Roman fort at Richborough. *Fourth Report*, pl. xxxvii, No. 131.

[5] *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 1950, pp. 1 ff.

[6] Déchelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie* (1927), vol. iv, fig. 469 (after Jahn).

[7] Piggott, op. cit., pp. 17 ff.

A GRAVE GUARDIAN FROM CH'ANG-SHA

THE late Chou dynasty and early Han dynasty tombs at Ch'ang-sha, capital of Hunan province, from one of which came the horned head illustrated on Pl.XXIII, form the southernmost group of intact and richly furnished burials hitherto recorded in China proper. They were discovered, and their contents removed, during municipal works carried out in 1936 and the spring of 1937 outside the north and west gates of the town. No record was made at the time and the finds were dispersed into the hands of collectors and dealers. Fortunately an eye-witness's account of some of the excavations,[1] together with a fairly coherent body of hearsay, vouch for the association of the objects and to some extent allow a chronological division.

The periods represented by the architecture of the tombs and distinguishable in their contents were most notably the late Chou dynasty (fourth and third centuries B.C.), and the Han dynasty (second century B.C. to second century A.D.); though shallower graves with sparser contents showed the continued use of the place for burial in the period of the Six Dynasties and as late as the early Ming dynasty. The deepest and earliest tombs, described as 'deep vertical tomb shafts . . . often twenty-five or thirty feet deep', with clay-lapped wooden chambers at the bottom, are clearly of the same family as the early noble tombs of Honan in north China, such as those of the early Chou dynasty at Hsün Hsien, of the middle and late Chou at Hsin Cheng, or of the late Chou at Chin Ts'un, and are in the line of descent from the royal tombs of the Shangs as excavated at An-yang. On the other hand the brick-built tombs which are spoken of at Ch'ang-sha seem to be quite similar to Han dynasty tombs which have been carefully excavated and recorded in the Chinese colonies in Korea and Annam.

Among the finds a group of bronzes and pottery vessels, many of the latter green-glazed, clearly belong to the brick tombs and the Han period. We are told that the wooden effigies came from the shaft graves, and are to be classed with the earlier bronzes—chariot hub-caps, a set of four standards in the shape of cranes, mirrors, *Ko*'s decorated with crested birds, and notably a sword inscribed in 'bird' script—and with clay models of ritual vessels decorated with painted geometrical patterns and overlaid with metal foil, all of which reflect the pre-Han tradition. These objects are related to the Huai valley style as seen in the bronzes found in quantity in the vicinity of Shou Hsien in Anhuei province. The pieces mentioned by no means exhaust the list of finds of pre-Han character, which included in addition jades and lacquered wood. Two small oval lacquered cups recently acquired for our collection are attributed to Ch'ang-sha. An almost intact wooden zither (瑟, *sê*) and fragments of other wooden musical instruments are also believed to belong to the pre-Han tombs.

The large wooden effigies were first brought to the notice of western students

of ancient China following a display of Ch'ang-sha finds in Osaka in 1937. Professors Umehara Sueji and Mizuno Seichi of Kyoto realized that the objects held an unprecedented interest for the history of the culture of the Chinese and their neighbours on the southern marches of the Chou feudal empire. They made a detailed study of the effigy consisting of two cranes standing (facing or back to back is uncertain) on a pedestal formed of two entwined snakes, and published a description with illustrations.[2] The bodies of birds and snakes alike are decorated with designs in black, red, and yellow lacquer paint, and where the pattern is not a formal representation of scales or feathers, it repeats a triangular unit with internal spirals which is not unlike designs found in the late feudal bronze style, and foreign to the art of the Han dynasty. The other wooden carving exhibited at Osaka consists of two goggle-eyed and antlered heads with protruding canine fangs and long pendent tongues, set back to back on the same neck. The whole is covered with patterns painted in lacquer, similar in type but not in detail to the painted decoration of the cranes-and-serpents. This two-headed effigy was bought by Mr. Hadley Cox, who exhibited it along with the remainder of his large collection of Ch'ang-sha antiquities at the Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University, in 1939.[3]

The antlered head acquired by the British Museum seems to have been found rather later; but by 1941 a photograph of wit as in the possession of Professor Umehara, who published a description and an illustration in January of that year.[4] It was offered for sale to the Museum from Hong Kong in 1950.

Both the antlered head and the block into which the neck-pillar is socketed are carved from a species of *Litsea*, and like the other wooden objects from Ch'ang-sha, have been well preserved in the damp sandy soil of the locality. The antlers, once lacquered, are now much perished. They evidently belong to a South China sika deer, but their condition precludes an exact identification.

On the lips of the antlered figure are traces of red pigment and of black pigment on the eyes. Faint scroll patterns in black are discernible on the neck-pillar, too much effaced to compare closely with the painted decoration on the other wooden figures, but of a similar kind. There is no trace of lacquer paint on the wood such as is found on the other figures. The finish of the latter is also smoother and more precise, indicating the use of different tools and a different conception of the work.

The estrangement of the antlered head even among the other unusual objects found at Ch'ang-sha is a measure of our ignorance of the culture even of civilized centres in south China at this period. The totem-pole-like crudity of the carving, distinct from the slender, more or less realistic cranes and the fantastic elaboration of the other larger pieces, is, however, quite close in the delineation of the face to the two or three dozen small wooden carvings found in the graves, two of which have been purchased for the Museum.[5] These are stiff little figures of male and

female retainers, painted with slender eyebrows and moustaches and sometimes fitted with movable arms.

Sepulchral effigies are said to have been placed in tombs in the feudal period[6] but none had hitherto been recovered. Thanks to conditions favourable to the preservation of wood some examples have survived at Ch'ang-sha. The smaller ones are easily explained as household servants who accompany their master in his descent to the Yellow Springs. But the larger figures are enigmatic. The problem raised by their discovery is that of accounting for their superstitious role, and, more difficult, of imagining a cultural setting catholic enough to tolerate the intrusion of rough-hewn figures into tombs otherwise furnished with the choice civilized products of the time.

One may compare the style of carving seen in the antlered figure with the recent and contemporary art of the primitive peoples of south-east Asia. Here two trends are definable.[7] One of these, elaborately decorative, delighting in geometric plant forms and animal masks and tending to complete abstraction, is found in Borneo, Sumatra, Celebes, the Flores Islands, and has a family resemblance to Maori art. The other is more monumental, carving often in the round and in the blocking-out style seen in the Ch'ang-sha figure. The monumental style has a more northerly range including Assam and the Nias Islands, but appears also in the south, in Indonesia, and Indo-China. Moreover, in Borneo and Indo-China at least it is found in hermes-like figures consisting of a head on an elongated body so simple that it often becomes a mere post.[8] Such figures are also connected with a cult of the dead. In the Moï jungle of western Indo-China, for example, the corner posts of tomb-houses and the posts of the surrounding palisades are sometimes carved with human heads to represent weepers. The carving may be schematized in a fashion surprisingly like that of the Ch'ang-sha head. Such ethnological comparisons are too remote in time and insufficiently localized or characteristic to bear the inference of cultural connexions. They support, however, the impression gained from the antlered head at first sight, that it is an enclave of genuinely primitive work in a context of sophisticated artistic tradition.

One author attempts to connect the protruding tongues of the Ch'ang-sha wooden effigy with other rare examples of this phenomenon found in early China, and even suggests a cultural link with tongue-protruding masks and monsters in Greece and India.[9] But so much cannot be built upon a feature so readily suggesting itself in fearsome effigies intended to frighten enemies or to scare off unwholesome spirits. Examples quoted for China fall within the period of the Six Dynasties (A.D. 222–589). The most interesting parallel cited is a mask with extended tongue, fangs and claws, painted on the wall of a tomb, the Ssŭ Shên Chung in Chi-an Hsien in Liao-ning province on the borders of Korea. Here the resemblance to the heads of the double-headed figure from Ch'ang-sha is so

close as to suggest that the same fabled creature is portrayed. The Ssŭ Shên Chung is in the ancient state of Kokuli, and probably belongs to the Six Dynasties period. But in none of the cited examples is the tongue so grotesquely long as in the Ch'ang-sha figures.

The antlers found both on the head acquired by the British Museum and on the two-headed figure in the possession of the Hadley Cox[10] strike a quite unexpected note among the antiquities of China, and are unmatched in other periods and in other regions of that country. An antlered god or a deified reindeer is a characteristic figure in animistic and totemistic cult, and legend spread from western Europe across northern Asia to Siberia. In time his appearances range from the late Palaeolithic of the reindeer hunters, when the cult symbolism of the reindeer's antlers is a natural outcome of its economic importance, to the recent and even contemporary period in the lore and paraphernalia of the Siberian shaman. The antlered god does not appear in the religions of the early agricultural civilizations of southern and western Asia, nor in the official religion of China as it is known from about the twelfth century B.C. onwards.[11]

The earliest evidence of an antlered human figure in Siberia is found on rock drawings, believed to be of Neolithic age, along the river Angara in Transbaikalia.[12] In a scene engraved on rock near the village of Svirski a man crowned with antlers (recognizable, although they are schematized to single points) is shown in combat with a bear. In recent times the equipment of a shaman of the Yenisei was found to include a crown constructed of iron bands and surmounted by reindeer antlers modelled in iron.[13] The antlers were said to denote the shaman's capacity for rapid motion, just as a form of dagger-blade set edgeways at the front of the crown symbolized his power to cleave the clouds in his course through the air.

These remarks would have little relevance to the horned head from Ch'ang-sha were it not for the strong impression gained from it and the other effigies that they relate to a cult of the dead. This cult appears to be highly evolved but distinct in superstitious belief and artistic incentive from the funeral rite and supernatural doctrine of North China, at least as concerns the upper-class occupants of well-furnished tombs. The shaman in Siberia and south-east Asia is closely associated with funeral rite, as is his representative in ancient China, the *wu*. The latter figured in official ceremonial, although it may be suspected that his role and influence in popular religion was more extensive. One of the shaman's tasks is to conduct the souls of the dead to their last resting place. As *psychopompos* he uses his magical powers, often achieved in an ecstatic trance, to traverse space and to pass between the worlds of men, of gods, and of ghosts.[14]

Beside the antlers, a cult of the dead may be inferred from the characters of the other figures. The importance of the crane in Taoist fable is enough to connect it with the circle of shamanistic lore. Serpents have ever been a symbol of

the world beneath—a pair entwined as at Ch'ang-sha is known on a funerary brick of Han date[15] and a wooden owl allegedly taken from a Ch'ang-sha tomb and now in a private collection, would reinforce this association. To suppose a shamanistic cult of the dead does not, however, explain the hanging tongues, unless they represent the physical convulsions of the shaman as he pursues his calling in a state of ecstasy. In a literate community one might look for a 'book of the dead' in connexion with such a cult, but it seems that no such text has survived in China.

WILLIAM WATSON

[1] Umehara Sueji, 'Konan-shō Chōsa Kofun no Ikkatsu Ibutsu ni tsuite', *Tōyōshi Kenkyu*, vi. 2 (Feb. 1941); John H. Cox, An Exhibition of the Antiquities from Ch'ang-sha, Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University, New Haven, 1939.

[2] *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, lxxii (Dec. 1937), pp. 1 ff. This effigy was subsequently bought by the Cleveland Museum of Art. Cf. this museum's Bulletin, Oct. 1938, where it is suggested that the cranes served to support a drum, fragments of such instruments having also appeared among the Ch'ang-sha finds.

[3] J. H. Cox, op. cit. It is illustrated and discussed by Professor Umehara in *Hōun*, xi (1939), pp. 139 ff.

[4] Umehara Sueji, *Toyōshi Kenkyū*, vi. 2.

[5] Mizuno Seiichi: 'Chōsa Shutsudo no Mokugu ni tsuite', *Tohōgakuhō*, viii (1937), 226 ff.

[6] Cf. Mencius, i, pt. 1, chap. iv, 6.

[7] Cf. R. Heine-Geldern: 'L'Art de l'Asie du Sud-Est', *Revue des arts asiatiques*, xi (1937), 177 ff.

[8] Cf. P. Aichner: 'Some Customs and Practices among the "Land Dayaks",' *The Sarawak Museum Journal*, v, No. 2 (New Series) (1950), p. 222, pl. vi.

[9] Okumura Ikurō, *Urinasu*, i (undated), p. 582, fig. 20.

[10] In J. H. Cox, op. cit., the antlers do not appear on the effigy as illustrated, and there is no mention of them in the text. They are to be seen in the plate in *Hōun* (1939), where there are also enlargements of simple geometrical ornament engraved on them at two points.

[11] The most sophisticated appearance of the antlered god is the Celtic deity Romanized as Cernunnos, and probably to be identified with the personage on the Gundestrup bowl. Reindeer are shown in procession below a frieze of human figures, engaged in ritual performance, depicted on the silver cup excavated at Trialeti, Georgia, and dated to the first half of the second millenium B.C.

[12] A. P. Okladnikov, *Pisanitsa okolo posyolka Svirskogo na Angare*, *K.S.I.I.M.K.* xix (1937).

[13] Georg Nioradze, *Der Schamanismus bei den Sibirischen Völkern*, p. 76, fig. 33.

[14] Elia Mircea, *Le Chamanisme*, Paris, 1950, *passim*.

[15] Olov Janse, *Briques et objets céramiques funéraires de l'époque des Han appartenant à C. T. Loo et cie*, Paris, 1936, pl. vi, No. 4.

SANDSTONE HEAD FROM SIAM

APART from Java and Ceylon (the Raffles and Nevill Collections) the art of Greater India is poorly represented in the national collection. Especially welcome therefore is the gift by Col. M. Earle, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., of an exceptionally fine head of the Buddha (Pl. xxiv). It is of reddish sandstone and measures 14 inches in height. The eyes are half-closed and the corners of the mouth curve upwards in what is popularly but inappropriately known as the 'Khmer' smile. The hair is represented by rows of round curls, held at the forehead by a fillet, and gathered into a lotus decorated crown, which also serves as the *uṣṇiṣa*. The top of the crown and the tip of the nose are slightly damaged and the ends of the elongated ears broken off. The ridges along the brows and surrounding the lips were originally much sharper. The head has at some time received a coat of lacquer, traces of which are still visible. It is not possible to say whether the head belonged to a standing figure or—as is more probable—to a Buddha seated on the *nāga* Muchilinda, a favourite subject with the Khmer sculptor. The piece was formerly in a Bangkok private collection and was probably recovered from the region of Lopburi (Lavō) in the lower Menam valley.

Inscriptions at Lopburi show that early in the eleventh century the Khmer Empire, under Sūryavarman I, superseded the old Môn Kingdom of Dvāravati in southern Siam. It remained in control of this region until the thirteenth century, slowly extending its power northwards up to Lamp'un, which remained, however, in the hands of a Môn dynasty. By about A.D. 1250 the Tai, the ancestors of the modern Siamese, had moved south and declared themselves independent at Sawank'alōk—Suk'ōt'ai. Somewhat later the Lopburi region seems to have freed itself from the Khmer overlords, who were soon fighting desperately for their very existence against their former province.

During the two and a half centuries southern Siam was dominated by the Khmer Empire her art may be expected to reflect that of Angkor, the capital. In Cambodia proper, however, Buddhist figures are rare between the seventh and end of the eleventh centuries. They become more frequent during the Angkor Vat period (about A.D. 1100–1150), and almost exclude all other types during the Bayon period (A.D. 1150–early thirteenth century), which is dominated by the great Buddhist king, Jayavarman VII. The style of Angkor Vat, apart from a certain softening of the square features of earlier sculpture, develops fairly from that of the eleventh century. The style of Bayon marks a complete break with the Khmer tradition. There suddenly appear the arched brows, the gentle smile, the half-closed eyes,[1] and the round curls, all of which are found in our head. This change of direction is usually attributed to the survival of the Buddhist art of the early Kingdom of Dvāravati, the centre of whose power was in the Lopburi region. Unfortunately, the monuments used to illustrate this

survival are few and in northern Siam. The Bayon style remains something of a mystery. French scholars, naturally preoccupied with the metropolitan style of Angkor, are unwilling to grant the art of Lopburi more than a provincial status. Future discoveries may show that the Lopburi region, which remained Buddhist under Khmer domination, itself redirected the imported Khmer art and imposed the new style on the capital itself.

It should be added that our new acquisition, while exhibiting all the characteristics of the Bayon style, shows also a slight elongation of the face. This indicates perhaps the influence of the early Tai school of northern Siam, which was to create in the fourteenth century a new national style. D. E. BARRETT

[1] The eyes were soon shown completely closed. (*B.M.Q.* vol. vi, 1931–2, pl. xviiib—a piece also from Lopburi.)

AN ANCIENT MAORI BONE-CHEST

A GAP in the Maori collections of the Department of Ethnography has been filled by the purchase of an old wooden bone-chest in the form of a standing human figure (Pl. xxv). There are a number of these chests in museums and private collections in New Zealand, but apart from one in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, this seems to be the only specimen in Europe. Some chests represent standing figures;[1] in one at least the legs are flexed and the head dropped forward,[2] suggesting a body trussed for burial; one represents a lizard;[3] and there is a type consisting only of a hollowed head with a spike or peg for insertion in the ground.[4] All documented specimens come from the Auckland Peninsula. They were made to contain bones of the dead which had been exhumed after burial, and were hidden in caves, as the Maori had a great fear of the bones falling into the hands of enemies.

The specimen now acquired, which has no certain history, represents a standing male figure, 36½ inches high. The right side is well preserved, and there are traces of red pigment in the depressions of the carving; the left side is considerably damaged. Presumably the figure was lying half buried on its side. The face and legs are comparatively naturalistic, though the latter are short in proportion. The arm, on the other hand, is highly conventionalized and is represented by incised carving on the surface of the body; the hand has three fingers (the left arm is too much damaged for description). The back is hollowed out to contain the bones, and probably had a fitted lid. The face is carved, presumably to represent tattoo, though later facial tattoo was much more complicated; the body is covered with a variety of motifs, including interlocking spirals, crescents, and notched and plain ridges; the legs below the thighs are undecorated.

The interest of these old chests, apart from their rarity, lies in the archaic style of the carving. The treatment of the face, in particular, of this specimen differs

greatly from the more conventional treatment usual in the nineteenth century, though later specimens may be found which show some of the peculiarities seen here. The face also differs considerably from the faces of other bone-chests which have been published. None of the specimens so far discovered has had any associated objects by which it could be dated, but the state of preservation of some of them (including the right side of that now under discussion) suggests that these at least are not likely to be older than the eighteenth century. The Maori living in the district where they were discovered disclaimed all knowledge of them. It seems that an ancient style, ancestral to that of the recent Maori, survived in the marginal area of the Auckland Peninsula after it had been superseded elsewhere.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

[1] e.g. E. Best, *The Maori* (1924), ii, p. 36.

[2] Dominion Museum *Bulletin*, No. 3 (1911), pp. 110–12.

[3] W. J. Phillipps, *Maori Art* (1946), fig. 32.

[4] In the Auckland Museum. G. Archey, *South Sea Folk: Handbook of Maori and Oceanic Ethnology*, fig. 41.

XVIII. DRAWING BY HIERONYMUS BOSCH

The Entombment

XIX. ROMAN COINS

a

b

XX. *a*. BUST OF A WOMAN, HOLDING A SHEAF OF CORN: SOUTH ARABIAN: ABOUT 2ND CENTURY A.D

a

b

c

XXI. *a*. BRONZE STATUETTES IN NATIVE AND IN GREEK STYLE: SOUTH ARABIAN
b. HEAD OF A MAN, FROM SOUTH ARABIA: ABOUT 2ND CENTURY A.D.
c. EARLY IRON AGE SWORD AND SCABBARD FROM STANWICK, NORTH RIDING, YORKSHIRE

Photograph by J. K. St. Joseph. Crown Copyright Reserved

XXII. HOD HILL, DORSET: THE ROMAN FORT, FROM THE NORTH

XXIII. SEPULCHRAL FIGURE WITH DEER'S ANTLERS

Excavated at Ch'ang-sha, Hunan Province, Central China: 4th or 3rd century B.C.

Scale 1:5

XXIV. HEAD OF BUDDHA

Siamese: Lopburi style: early 13th century

XXV. ANCIENT MAORI BONE-CHEST

Height 3 ft. 6½ in.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE CATALOGUE OF ITALIAN DRAWINGS, XIV–XV CENTURIES

Attributed to FRANCESCO DI SIMONE

PLATE I

57a. *Recto.* STUDIES OF SAINTS AND *PUTTI*

Verso. STUDIES OF *PUTTI*, LEGS, AN APOLLO AND A SEATED CHRIST

Pen and brown ink, with some wash, on paper tinted pink in places; traces of underdrawing in black chalk.

27·2 × 19 cm.

1952–4–5–1.

Provenance: Webb family, of Newstead Abbey (according to the late owner); Sir Herbert Chermside, of Pepper Arden Hall, Yorks.; Richard Gatty Esq.; presented by the National Art-Collections Fund.

Lit.: *Catalogue of Italian Drawings, XIV–XV centuries*, 1950, under nos. 56/57.

Inscr. along top edge of *recto*: [*fi?*] *ni cholomuratore*. This sheet is one of a group of which two others are already in the collection. Cf. *Catalogue*, nos. 56/57, for details, and a discussion of the attribution to Francesco di Simone.

Parallels, some very close, between some of the sketches on this sheet and those on others of the group, support the theory that the sheets come from the same sketch-book.

The standing S. Jerome (*recto* bottom r.): cf. Chantilly, photo. Braun 65028 (the closest parallel), and photo. Braun 65031, and Louvre R.F. 449 *recto*.

The p[illegible] standing on a dolphin's head (*recto* top r.): cf. Louvre R.F. 446 *recto*.

Seated Christ (*verso*): cf. Dijon, no. 821 *recto*, where a figure occurs very similar in pose and scale, but playing bagpipes.

Putto running (*verso* top): cf. Berlin (*Zeichnungen alter Meister*, pl. 23a).

Putto (*verso* bottom r.): cf. Louvre 2241 *verso*.

The inscription is in the same hand as those on others of the group. The words *nicholo muratore* occur in an inscription on one of the sheets at Chantilly (photo. Braun 65032), which seems to be a memorandum, by Niccolò, of the fact that he was owed 1,489 lire for marble supplied to Giovanni di Taddeo.

After COSIMO ROSSELLI

PLATE II

231a. A KNEELING SAINT

Pen and brown ink, heightened with white on blue-green prepared surface. Stained.

17·2 × 23·2 cm.

1952–4–5–7.

Provenance: unidentified collector (mark not in Lugt, monogram CM(?) in a circle stamped blind on *recto*); Webb family, of Newstead Abbey (according to the late owner); Sir Herbert Chermside, of Pepper Arden Hall, Yorks.; Richard Gatty, Esq.; presented by the National Art-Collections Fund.

Inscribed on the old mount in an eighteenth(?)-century hand: *Lorenzo di Bicci*, and on the back of this mount: *M-fecit*, in a different, eighteenth(?)-century, hand.

Copy, probably almost contemporary, of the kneeling king in an early work by Cosimo Rosselli, the *Adoration of the Magi*, in the Uffizi. In the picture he has no halo, his r. arm is less extended, and there are certain differences in parts of the drapery; but the numerous

points of resemblance, especially the face, the hands, and the general disposition of the drapery and the system of folds, leave no doubt that the drawing is either an inept copy from the picture, or else (perhaps more likely) derives from a preliminary study.

VECCHIETTA OR STUDIO OF VECCHIETTA — PLATE III

257a. TWO KNEELING FLAGELLANTS

Drawn with the point of the brush in white and brown on green prepared surface.
24·6 × 16 cm.
1952–4–5–2.

Provenance: as for 231*a* above.
Lit.: *Catalogue of Italian Drawings, XIV–XV Centuries*, 1950, under no. 257.

Inscribed on the old mount in an eighteenth(?)-century hand: *Scuola Fiorentina*, and on the back of this mount: *M-fecit*, in the same hand as on the mounts of 231*a* and 257*b* to *e*.

STUDIO OF VECCHIETTA — PLATE IV

257b. TWO STANDING MEN

257c. TWO STANDING MEN

257d. FOUR STANDING MEN

Drawn with the point of the brush in white and brown on green prepared surface. The contours strengthened at a later date, apparently with graphite.
257b. 16·7 × 9·2 cm.; 257c. 17·1 × 6·7 cm.; 257d. 16·8 × 9·6 cm. (mounted together in the eighteenth century).
1952–4–5–3, 4, and 5.
Provenance: as for 231*a* above.

Inscribed on the old mount in an eighteenth(?)-century hand: *Masaccio*, and on the back of this mount: *M-fecit*, in the same hand as on the mounts of 231*a* and 257*a* and *e*.

257e. FIVE STANDING MEN

Drawn with the point of the brush in white and brown on brown prepared surface. The contours strengthened at a later date, apparently with graphite.
18·5 × 21·9 cm.
1952–4–5–6.
Provenance: as for 231*a* above.

Inscribed on the old mount in an eighteenth(?)-century hand: *?Masaccio* (scored out), *Benozzo Gozzoli*, and on the back of this mount: *M-fecit*, in the same hand as on the mounts of 231*a* and 257*a* to *d*. All but one of these drawings (257*c*), like no. 257 in the *Catalogue*, are closely connected with pictures which can reasonably be attributed to Vecchietta or his studio; they are further linked with 257 by a common collector's mark proving that they were together, probably in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

The drawing of Flagellants, though similar in technique to the rest of the group, is by a different hand from 257*b* to *e*, and is superior in quality to them. It corresponds, except in very minor details, with a small panel at Bayonne, which is attributed to Bonfigli by Berenson, but is certainly Sienese and almost certainly by Vecchietta. What is the relationship between drawing and panel? As in 257, the facial type and the structure of the hands are characteristic of Vecchietta, but the somewhat disquieting neatness of the drawing and the

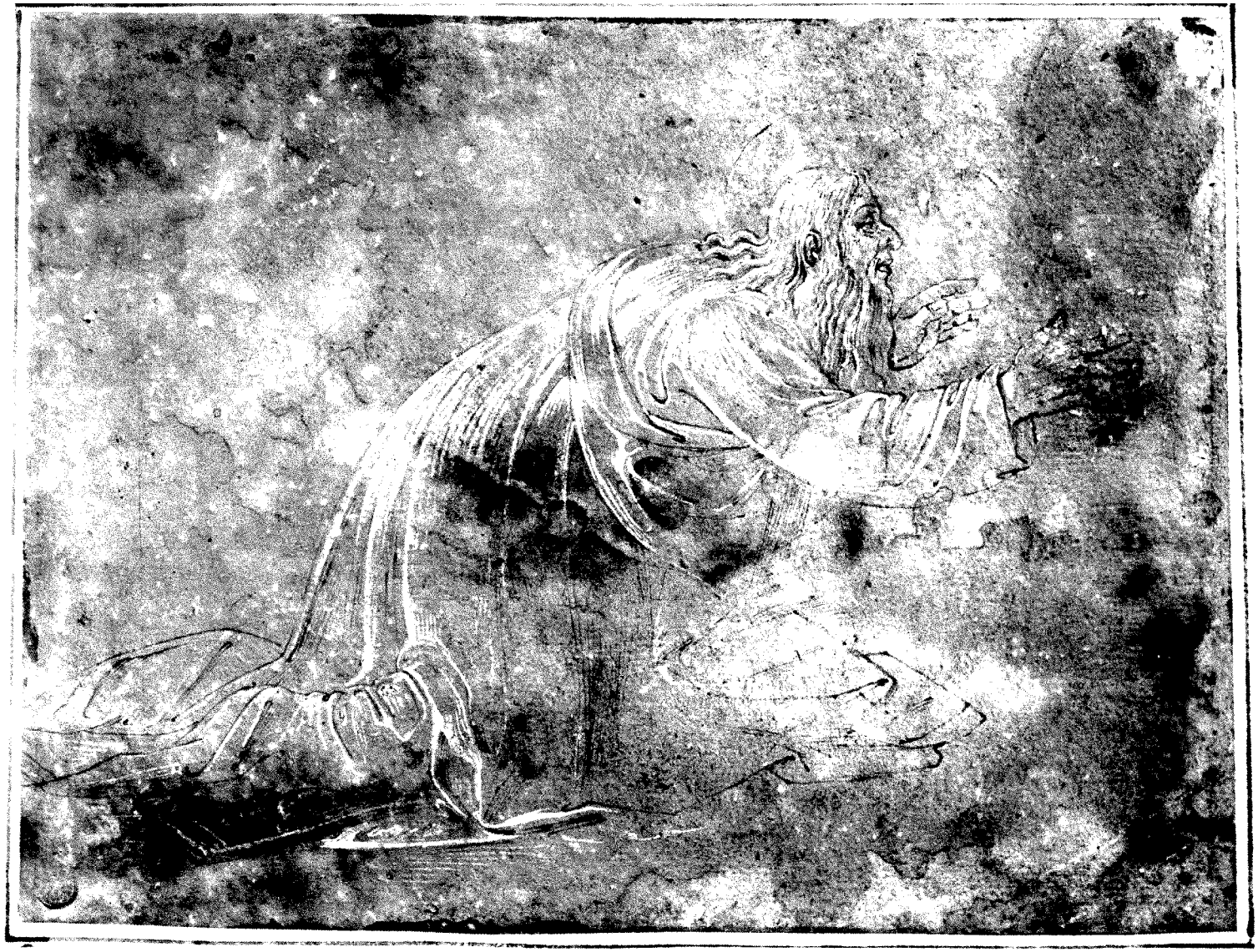
presence of details not to be expected in a preliminary sketch of this period, such as the indication of the angle between floor and wall, point rather to its being a derivation from the picture, and this in spite of small divergences (e.g. in the position of the r. hand of the farther figure). It may be a 'fair copy' by Vecchietta himself or by some member of the *bottega* who had absorbed the master's morphological idiom. It should be remarked in parenthesis that there is nothing in the drawing to suggest that it is by Francesco di Giorgio, to which pupil of Vecchietta Allen Stuart Weller (*Francesco di Giorgio*, Chicago, 1943) attributes the Bayonne panel and its companion at Chantilly.

257 *b*, *d*, and *e* all contain figures occurring in a picture of *The Ass worshipping the Host held by S. Anthony of Padua*, at Munich, generally attributed to Vecchietta. Though their unattractive appearance is partly due to their having been worked-over (probably at a comparatively recent date), it is inconceivable that these timid and unintelligent drawings could ever have been preparatory studies. Differences from the painting, notably the introduction of two figures on the r. of 257*d*, strongly suggest that the draughtsman was working from preliminary studies.

57a *recto*

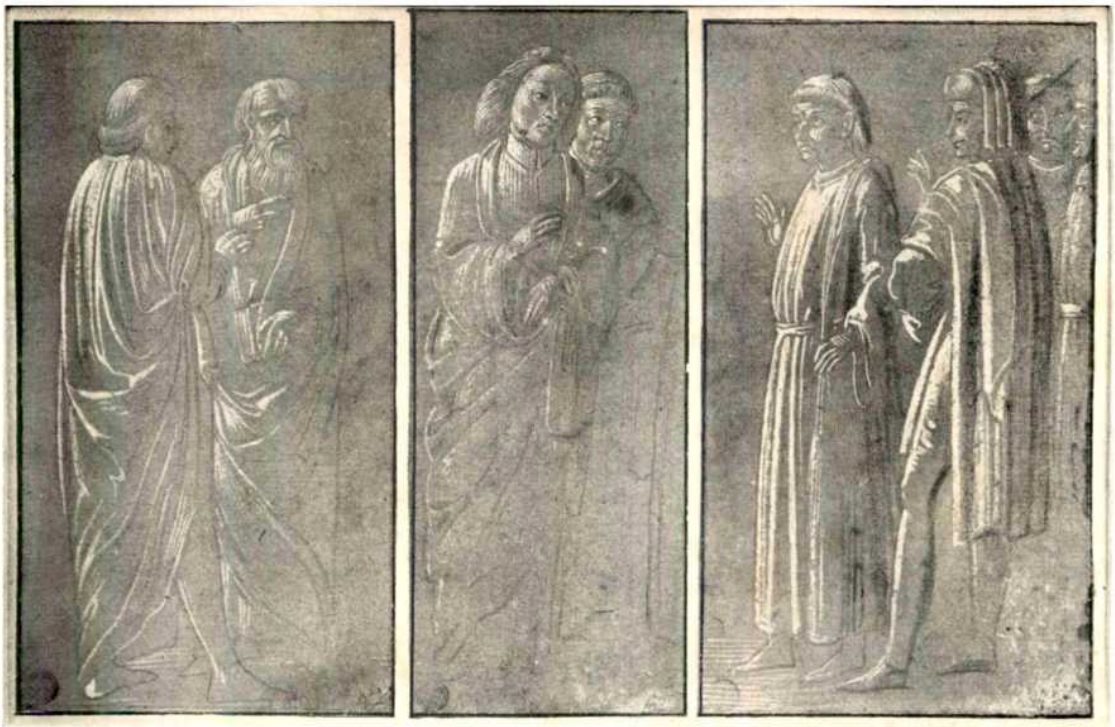
57a *verso*

ATTRIBUTED TO FRANCESCO DI SIMONE

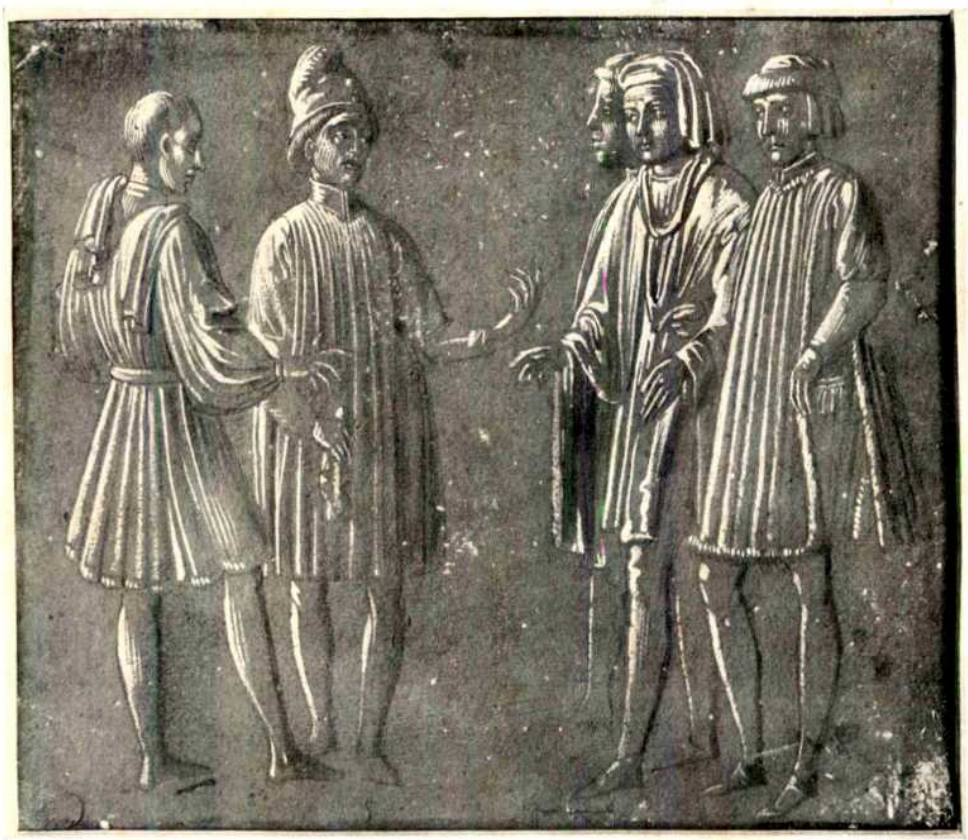


AFTER COSIMO ROSSELLI

VECCHIETTA, OR STUDIO OF VECCHIETTA



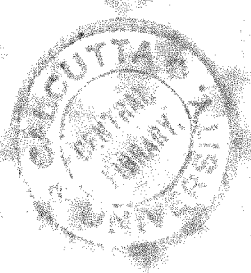
b *c* *d*



e

STUDIO OF VECCHIETTA

BRITISH MUSEUM QUARTERLY
VOLUME XVII. NUMBER 4. DECEMBER 1952



XXVI. SIR FREDERIC KENYON, G.B.E., K.C.B.

DIRECTOR AND PRINCIPAL LIBRARIAN OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, 1909–30

(from a photograph kindly lent by Miss Kenyon)

PLATES

XXVI. Sir Frederic Kenyon, G.B.E., K.C.B. *Frontispiece*

XXVII. *a*. Wooden Statuette of the Middle Kingdom
b. Basalt Statuette of the Ptolemaic Period

XXVIII. A Red-figured Pelike: Main Scene

XXIX. *a–c*. Details of Main Scene
d, *e*. Handle Ornament
f–i. Reverse

XXX. The Fuller Brooch

XXXI. Chelsea Porcelain Vase

XXXII. *a*. Dish decorated in blue and black: Persian, about 1260 A.D.
b. Bowl decorated in lustre: Mesopotamian, about 850–900 A.D.

SIR FREDERIC KENYON, G.B.E., K.C.B.

I HAVE asked three past members of the staff, who knew Sir Frederic Kenyon well, to write informally about him as they remember him in his British Museum days. He would have preferred that, I think, to a full obituary notice of a suitably impressive kind, and would have liked to be talked about as our colleague in this *Quarterly* that he himself founded; for he loved the British Museum. To the end of his life, Miss Kenyon has told me, it was his first interest.

Kenyon joined the staff in 1899, attended the laying of the foundation stone of the King Edward VII Building in 1907, became Director in 1909, and arranged the opening of the King Edward VII Building by King George V in 1914, saw the British Museum through the First World War, and retired in 1930. There are now only a few of us who knew him as Director, and to most of the present staff he is just one of the famous names in our history. When I say that he walked about the Museum in a top hat and black coat, he is seen at once to be a long-ago inhabitant of a legendary and remote British Museum.

He is not a remote person to me. I knew him from the beginning of my Museum life until a year or two before his death. I saw very little change in him. When, after a long war-time interval, Part I of Vol. XVI of this *Quarterly* was published in 1950, I received at once a letter from Kenyon in an unchanged, strong, vigorously characteristic handwriting, traceable in almost unaltered state to the signature on his now archaic application for acceptance as a candidate for a post in the British Museum, observing that, glad as he was to welcome the reappearance of the *Quarterly*, he regretted that in our flurry and excitement we had forgotten that there ought to be a Vol. XV. We sent him our 'ten-years-in-one' Vol. XV when it appeared a few months later, and I expect it gave him pleasure, though he was by that time failing in strength and no longer able to write to us.

He was extremely kind to me. I know nothing of the coldness and aloofness that are said to have daunted so many of his contemporaries. He accepted me into the service of the British Museum with nothing but fantastically inadequate qualifications, largely because I was an interesting young ruin on crutches. When I arrived for an interview with him, he sent a messenger to meet me in the Front Hall and warn me of a dangerous step down into his room (now the Inner Office). In a desperate attempt to show how agile and well I was, I had abandoned my crutches that day and had very carefully rehearsed a brisk entry into the Director's presence with just a walking-stick as support. The door opens (as so many of the staff know) far too easily, and the fatal step is immediate. I was precipitated awkwardly and with a sickening jolt into the presence. I was

desperate with pain, and sure that as a result of this inglorious performance an always rather improbable job was lost for good. Kenyon said gently: 'Sit down and recover. Even when warned, my visitors invariably hurtle to a self-chosen destruction. I have ceased to blame them.'

He was very anxious to recruit wounded officers, and he took a most considerate interest in my health. I worked in the galleries making 'drawer-lists'; and Kenyon, who regularly inspected the Museum, insisted that I ought to perform my duties sitting. The apparition in a gallery amid many members of the public of a majestic top-hatted individual throwing the warders into chaos by insisting that a chair should be produced at once for an assistant-keeper, and waiting for it to come, and waiting to see him sit on it, and waiting for barriers to be placed round this most embarrassed individual, was a remarkable spectacle that understandably enthralled the adjacent public.

Perhaps Directors ought still to wear top hats. Kenyon, in my hearing, told an assembled cross-section of the Museum at a somewhat poignantly hysterical lunch-club meeting, that he was not prepared to tolerate behaviour on the part of the British Museum that he could liken only to that of a boys' school, and 'a school for very small boys at that'. He believed that it was a great privilege to work among books and manuscripts and antiquities, and that our duties and interests ought to put right out of our minds such petty matters as were on the agenda at that meeting.

Kenyon was kind and just, completely dependable, and invariably calm and sensible. He was also a man of deep and wide learning. He not only defended us and worked ceaselessly for our interests, he was also our credit and our pride. The great things about him will be said better in other places. Here we are just talking about him as we knew him, and I would now add only one thing, namely, that under a cloak of unsmiling austerity he hid a fine and candid wit. This is not well known, but the truth is that his friends treasure many of his profoundly devastating remarks, prefaced by a peculiarly mirthless guffaw, the certain signal that someone's vanity or silliness was to be exposed by that kind of ineluctable comment now associated with the 'New Yorker' footnotes to press-cuttings. I stress this because people say he was unsmiling and cold, and indeed he certainly did habitually live, officially, behind a mask of forbidding Civil Service rectitude. But the mask was often removed and the kindest and most lovable of men was revealed.

His life and work are now a part of the British Museum's two-hundred-year-old history. He was one of our truly great men, and future generations of Museum men will, I am sure, honour him as is his due. Let us now simply record how those who knew him appreciated him.

T. D. KENDRICK.

(i)

I FIRST met Sir Frederic Kenyon in October 1910 when he interviewed me as a prospective candidate for the Department of Manuscripts, and I remember A. W. Pollard writing to tell me that I should find him 'a very friendly and unassuming person', as I indeed did. I have always been very grateful to him for accepting me as a candidate in spite of my most unpromising record at Oxford, and I am glad to recall that I had an opportunity of telling him so when he retired some twenty years later. In writing to tell me in August 1912 that I had been appointed to a chance vacancy in the Department (I had missed the previous vacancy by one place in the recent examination) he was kind enough to add that he had heard from many people of my great keenness on the work and was glad that the opportunity should have come to me. After I joined the staff in October of that year I was often at his house by his and Lady Kenyon's kind invitation, and saw something of his happy family life. I remember pretending once to claim a shilling or so from his then small daughters and his telling them with a laugh that he could always stop my salary if I gave them any trouble! In his official capacity I can think of no occasion, even in my most junior days, when he was not completely accessible or anything but courteous in his reception of me, while at the same time there was never any doubt when the interview was closed. I remember one incident in particular in my early days that impressed me. He had asked the Keeper of Manuscripts for the services of H. I. (afterwards Sir Harold) Bell and myself to act as ushers in the North Library on the occasion of the State opening of the King Edward VII Galleries in the summer of 1914; a few minutes before the royal party was due to arrive I was accosted by a displeased-looking gentleman with a chain round his neck, who proved to be the Lord Mayor of London and was justifiably annoyed at having been placed behind a pillar by an unfortunate oversight on the part of the office. After unsuccessful attempts to find him a better seat I went through in some desperation to the main staircase, where Sir Frederic was already standing with the three Principal Trustees in momentary expectation of the arrival of the King and Queen. Instead of waving me away, as so many would have done, he came across to me at once, and on hearing what had happened asked me to go to some point in the North Library and see if any tickets had been returned at the last moment, and to do the best I could. Fortunately the seats were forthcoming and the Lord Mayor was satisfied, and I have not forgotten Sir Frederic's imperturbability and helpfulness at what was a distinctly trying moment.

In 1915 I met him in a new capacity as my Company Commander when I was a private in the Inns of Court O.T.C. at Berkhamsted, and it is perhaps needless to add that he carried out his military duties with the same calm efficiency and with indefatigable energy—too indefatigable, as some of us weaker mortals

thought at times, but always with admiration. Owing to the strict discipline of the corps I exchanged very few words with him during the three months that I spent at Berkhamsted, but I had a very kind letter from him when I left with my commission, showing that he had kept a watchful eye on me. I remember his advice, either in that letter or in one of several others that I received from him during my army service, that if I was sent abroad I was to remember that it was *not* part of an officer's duties to take unnecessary risks. In another letter, in reply to one I had sent him from India in 1917, he wrote: 'I was very glad . . . to hear so cheerful an account of yourself. The war has certainly given you an opportunity of enlarging your experience, and you have been making the most of it. If one's ordinary career is interrupted, it is certainly an advantage to be able to throw oneself into the new life with zest, as you are doing. It is difficult to realize how one will look back, in the future, on these years, but I am sure we shall not regret having done our best with the work that came to hand.' In the same letter he complained rather bitterly, and certainly characteristically, of the change that had come over the Inns of Court: 'The institution of cadet battalions has rather restricted us to more elementary work, and the departure of Col Errington has certainly led to a lowering in the standard of hard work. Our new C.O has done a good deal for the amenities of life, and for the organization of the battalion as a society to live in; but we do not work with the same single eye to the present emergencies as we did in 1915.' When I remember that I had served under him in the Museum for barely two years when the war came, and that his military duties were only one of his many activities at this time, I feel that the consideration he showed to so junior a member of the staff was very remarkable.

After my return to the Museum at the end of 1919 I saw him repeatedly both in his official and his private capacity. I remember that in 1922 some books were stolen from the Library and the culprit had just been arrested; as I had known the latter in the army he asked me for my rather lurid account of him, characteristically coming round to see me in the Department instead of sending for me, and he drily remarked on hearing that the thief had been about to take his law final examination that he did not seem exactly the person to be a solicitor!

Two instances occur to me of his gift for disposing of even the most trivial matters. Those who were present, as I was, some time in the nineteen-twenties at a general meeting of the Museum luncheon club which he had called, after a previous one (not under his chairmanship) had got out of hand, will remember how he first invited the senior clerk who had caused most of the trouble, to make a statement, which in fact proved to be a complete and almost abject withdrawal of all his former complaints, and then wound up the meeting with the remark that he did not propose to go into one of the complaints, as after all we were no longer at our preparatory schools. I can still hear the tone of voice in which he said this; many of us would have liked to know what passed between

him and the clerk concerned in the interview that had obviously preceded the meeting. In the second case, a colleague of mine in the Department, now deceased, had been unwise enough to write an offensive letter to some member of the public on official notepaper; the recipient forwarded the letter to the appropriate Government Department, which in turn passed it to the Director with a request for an explanation. The culprit was sent for and asked for *his* explanation, and after a very salutary admonition was told that an explanation had already gone off from the Museum but that the offence was not to be repeated.

To return to my personal relations with him, I remember his going out of his way on one occasion to encourage me after the appearance of my first official publication. I was also privileged to send him from time to time some unofficial publications of mine, and I still have his very gratifying letters of acknowledgement; and in 1928, after my return from a two-months' visit to the Pierpont Morgan Library, I received a note saying that he would like some time to hear something about my visit and enclosing a copy of his finely printed *Ancient Books and Modern Discoveries*, a splendid work of scholarship of which he modestly wrote, 'its externals at least deserve admiration'. I recall particularly his enjoyment of some of the stories that I was able to tell him of that remarkable personality, the late Miss Belle Greene, whose own admiration of him, I like to remember, was unbounded from the moment when, as she told me, he appealed to her to rescue him from some particularly dull social function in New York and she realized that he had a very human side to him. The following year saw the sale of the Luttrell and Bedford Psalters, with the late Mr. Pierpont Morgan's incredibly generous intervention, and I was in constant touch with him during the progress of the public appeal, finding him always constructively helpful.

After his retirement I often met him at the Athenaeum and elsewhere, including a small dining club of which, as Recorder, he kept the minutes with an inimitable lightness of touch; these included several entries at my expense, one in particular describing me on an outing, for the arrangements for which I was responsible, as 'in a state of effervescent excitement', and another as maintaining 'a strident monologue obbligato' during a coach journey. When I quoted these to him at a later date he commented with a laugh that they 'seemed to rankle'. It may be added that he was well on in the eighties when he wrote the minutes.

I have purposely dwelt on the lighter side of my association with him, as it is a side of him that is perhaps less well known to many people. The obituary notices have all referred to him as that rather rare combination of a fine scholar and administrator. I shall always remember him also as one of the very greatest of our long line of Directors and a great gentleman, and I am proud to have served under him, as I am to be allowed to add my tribute to him in this journal of which he was the founder.

ERIC G. MILLAR

(ii)

WHEN Kenyon followed Maunde Thompson as Director in 1909 I had been an Assistant in the Printed Books for only six years. Kenyon himself had entered the Department of Manuscripts barely twenty years before his reign began; it was therefore natural that I did not know him except by sight and repute, nor did I know him much better when, seventeen years later, I found myself transferred to work directly under him in the Office. Indeed, the only contact I can remember having with him in that long interval was when, the morning after the royal opening of the King Edward VII Galleries, he sent for me, and I discovered that having on the previous afternoon at the ceremony with my wife accepted an invitation to dine with the Yates Thompsons, I had forgotten that I was due to take the evening duty in the Reading-Room! I was deeply relieved that Kenyon took the occasion as an excuse, allowing that royal ceremonies were no everyday things, and did not make any heavy weather of my lapse.

We think of his accession to office on Maunde Thompson's retirement as a foregone conclusion, so distinguished had his work on the B.M. Greek papyri made him. But in fact he had a quite powerful rival in Hercules Read, Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities, a leading antiquary and a splendid figurehead.

As Director, I should say that Kenyon had only two failings. One was his taciturnity, exeeded only by Gilson's. As I sometimes said, he needed only to make up his mind to waste, say, twenty minutes a day in odd minutes of idle chat. We should all have felt less shy of him. But it was not his nature, and, knowing the multifarious burden of responsibilities, inside and outside the Museum, that he had undertaken, one could not be surprised.

He could have made more time for himself if he had been readier to delegate work of minor importance. He wrote daily a mass of letters, nor did he ever dictate them, though our shorthand typists were yearning for practice, but filed his manuscript drafts, all written in his small regular hand, without a correction. Naturally he developed a very laconic style, not the less effective for that, especially when answering a cantankerous person.

You always knew where you were with him. His very silence made his solidity of judgement more impressive. No wonder the Trustees believed in and supported him. Undoubtedly he was a very great Director.

ARUNDELL ESDAILE

(iii)

Sir Frederic Kenyon's appointment as Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum had been long foreshadowed in the Director's office, where his predecessor, Sir E. Maunde Thompson, had described him as the 'fine flower of English learning' and, as early as 1896, John Cleave, then Accountant, had pointed him out as 'the next Principal Librarian'.

In due course Kenyon came to the post extremely well versed in Museum affairs and with the benefit of assiduous coaching by Maunde Thompson in the details of the Director's duties. From the first he needed from the office staff little but facts, and it was believed by some among us that a succession of well-meant but ill-advised notes beginning 'Your predecessor would probably . . .', together with other unnecessary advice, permanently affected his attitude to the individual concerned.

The Office in 1909 had still something of Victorian leisure about it. Telephones were few and unwelcome to senior men, shorthand was unknown, and typing was the work of the junior clerk. Kenyon made no great changes in the office customs except to rid himself of some routine work and to discontinue, firmly and at once, Maunde Thompson's habit of dealing with the morning mail over the breakfast table in his private residence. He maintained the reputation for reserve he had established in the Department of Manuscripts where, so we were told, 'Good Morning' and 'Good Afternoon' were the greater part of his social conversation with his colleagues. He was brief in comment or reproof and slow to blame or to find fault. His reticence was at times an embarrassment to his staff and at other times a relief, although the things he did not say were perhaps more effective than speech. I well remember a few painful moments when outstretched hands in the office gallery failed to catch a book light-heartedly thrown up to them and it fell a yard in front of Kenyon, striding as briskly as usual from the inner room. He halted abruptly, shot a quick glance in my direction, and passed on without a word, leaving me to wonder what he thought and what Thompson would have said and done, and into what furious anger Panizzi (whose rages were still a by-word among my older colleagues) would have fallen.

And on another day when, after a strenuous evening of contest at the school of arms, I appeared on duty with two very black eyes, Kenyon chose to pay one of his rare visits to my table. I reflected that my back was to the window but kept my gaze on my desk nevertheless, except for one brief upward glance, when I caught what appeared to be a gleam of amusement in his eyes. Neither of us made any reference, then or later, to the discoloration.

Perhaps it was not until I saw Kenyon, a Territorial officer, sitting on a hedgebank on Salisbury Plain and looking as hot and dusty and nearly as tired

as I was myself, that I realized he was human after all. In time I was to learn something of the genial, sympathetic side of Kenyon and of the modesty, perhaps tinged with shyness, hidden by an inscrutable demeanour.

He was a keen soldier and managed to accompany the troops landing in France early in the First World War, returning with reluctance, it was said, to duty at the Museum and continuing to spend much time at the regiment's home quarters.

On my own return to civil life a change in duty brought me into closer contact with Kenyon and his work. His draft letters, even on long and involved issues, were models of clarity and order, written in a neat, legible hand; he filed many of them in his private desk to save reference to official letter books. He was a tireless worker, rapid and methodical in all that he did in the post-war years of activity, and punctual in his comings and goings. Increasing demands were made upon him from quarters without the Museum, while important matters within it, such as the reorganization of the staff, extensive reconstruction in the Museum building, and the long series of excavations at Ur under Sir Leonard Woolley demanded consideration, lengthy correspondence and much negotiation. In addition, the Director of the British Museum was still the nominal head of the Natural History Museum and, as such, attended the monthly meetings of the Trustees at South Kensington besides those at Bloomsbury. He shared with Maunde Thompson a pride in the Museum as (so one of them said) one of the two best-known things in the world—the British Navy and the British Museum.

The official farewell on his retirement was a notable event in the Museum. Kenyon spoke with characteristic modesty, gracefully returning thanks for the compliments heaped upon him and for the gift of the bronze portrait bust now on the Board Room mantelshelf. He concluded his speech with a declaration, almost fervent in tone, that he was prouder of nothing in his career than that he had been 'a servant of the Trustees of the British Museum'.

In his retirement to long years of activity his visits to the Museum and my meetings with him became rarer, but to me they were always welcome. When last I saw him, at the Academy Private View in May of this year, he was very frail but very cordial and smiling and, I like to think, glad to be reminded of his Museum days. I left him after a brief conversation, knowing that I should not see him again.

So, throughout my long acquaintance with him, Kenyon was always 'my chief', either in prospect, in actual fact, or in retirement, and in addition to the high respect in which the Director of the British Museum is properly held by his staff, I found for him a warm personal regard.

J. H. WITNEY

TWO EGYPTIAN STATUETTES

AMONG recent additions to the Egyptian collection of the Museum, two statuettes deserve particular notice as works of high artistic quality. The earlier of the two pieces (No. 65440, Pl. XXVII *a*), which measures 8¼ inches in height and 2¼ inches across the shoulders, is carved in wood, perhaps cedar, of a reddish-brown colour. It was excavated at Beni Hasan in Middle Egypt by Professor John Garstang when clearing a group of Middle Kingdom tombs in the years 1902–4. Subsequently it became the property of Mr. H. Martyn Kennard, a subscriber to the excavation, after whose death it passed successively into the possession of other private collectors before its recent purchase by the Trustees of this Museum.

In his excavation report Professor Garstang states that he found the figure in the tomb of an official named Neternekhti,[1] and it must be supposed that it represents the tomb-owner himself. It is composed of six pieces of wood joined by tenons and mortises, the head, body, legs, and feet from heel to instep being carved of one piece, the right arm of one piece, the left arm of two pieces, and the foreparts of the feet of one piece each. Apart from a ribbed kilt the figure is unclothed with the possible exception of a tight-fitting cap, which may be indicated by the black line drawn across the top of the forehead and passing above the ears and around the base of the skull. On the other hand this line may be intended merely to mark the limit of the hair. Black is also used to mark the eyeballs, the eyebrows and the nipples. The long staff held in the left hand and the block of wood to which the figure was attached by the tenons projecting from beneath the feet were missing when the statuette was found.

Although wooden figures dating from the Middle Kingdom are not uncommon, and there are several in the collection of this Museum, examples comparable with this specimen are exceedingly rare. It is true that the head seems large in relation to the body and the arms and feet are undoubtedly larger than is natural, a feature which is characteristic of the period, but the remarkably life-like facial expression and the careful representation of the collar-bones, the sternum and the knee-joints mark the piece as a work in which attention has been paid both to artistic effect and to technical detail. Having now reached a public collection, it is likely to become better known and may perhaps find a place in future anthologies of its period.

The second statuette illustrated on Pl. XXVII *b* (No. 65443), which was bequeathed by the late H. Swainson-Cowper, Esq., represents a priest named Nefer-sema-tauy, son of Ny-Hor-pa-sa-Ast, whose name and titles are given in an inscription incised on the back support. It is made of black basalt and measures about

18 inches in height. The feet and pedestal are lost, but in all other respects the statuette is well preserved. Carved in one piece with the figure is a shrine, held with both hands in front of the body, which contains an image in high relief of the god Atum, human-headed and wearing the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. The head of the priest is shaven and his dress appears to consist of two separate garments: an undergarment knotted on the left shoulder and a long skirt extending from beneath the arm-pits to the ankles and overlapping down the right side, the point of the upper turn-over being represented very stylistically as a fold in front of the chest. A figure of a somewhat earlier period, which has been in the collection of this Museum for many years (No. 55254), shows the details of this type of dress more clearly and disproves a theory tentatively advanced by one authority that the cylindrical fold in the Swainson-Cowper statuette represented an amulet-case or some similar object.[2]

Apart from its value as a work of art, this statuette possesses considerable archaeological interest by reason of the almost complete condition in which it is preserved and of the particular convention adopted for portraying the owner. The furrowed brow, the deep-set eyes, the sunken cheeks in marked contrast with the prominent cheek-bones, the wrinkles on each side of the mouth from the nostrils to the chin and the shrunken neck are clearly intended to indicate a person advanced in years. Sculptures of this character are well known in Egyptian art, and authorities have generally attributed them to the Saite Period, although no examples dated either by inscription or by the circumstances of their discovery have yet come to light. Recent researches, however, have tended to show that they were made at two different periods in the last millennium of Egypt's history, the earliest dating from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (*c.* 700 B.C.), the latest from the Ptolemaic Period (332–30 B.C.).[3] On inscriptional grounds alone the earlier date must be ruled out for this piece. It is difficult to ascribe it with any assurance to any specific part of the Ptolemaic Period, although its general appearance strongly suggests that it belongs to the latter part or perhaps even to early Roman times.

I. E. S. EDWARDS

[1] J. Garstang, *Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 137–8.
[2] M. A. Murray, *Ancient Egypt*, 1917, Pt. iv, 146.
[3] B. v. Bothmer, *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, October 1951, pp. 69–74.

A RED-FIGURED PELIKE

IN 1951 the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities acquired an Attic red-figured pelike[1] (Pls. XXVIII, XXIX) which formerly belonged to the late Lord Melchett. The main scene represents a young man leaving home; he has a himation thrown over his left shoulder and upper arm, a petasos or wide sun-hat hanging at the back of his neck, and a sword-belt slung across his right shoulder. On his head he wears a white wreath, whose colour has faded, and in his left hand he holds a spear; with his right he clasps the hand of a woman—doubtless his wife, rather than his mother—who faces him from the left. She wears a Doric chiton without a girdle, a broad twisted head-band, and an ear-ring; with her left hand she raises part of the overfall of her chiton in a gesture which has recently been interpreted as a sign of grief.[2] The man's father looks on, standing muffled in his himation and holding a long staff in his right hand; he too wears a wreath which was originally white. Above the youth's head the letters *ΑΛΗ* are faintly visible; there is no trace of the initial *K*. The word *καλός* is often found as an isolated inscription on vases, with no accompanying noun or proper name, and sometimes appears to have no direct connexion with any individual figure; the same is true of the feminine form of the word, though it is far less common.[3] On our pelike, therefore, though *καλή* may refer to the woman it need not necessarily do so. The picture on the reverse is a stock group of three youths, each wearing a cloak and a white fillet on the head. There is considerable use of relief outline on the main scene,[4] but none on the reverse: beneath each handle is a palmette complex.

There is strong evidence to support the attribution of this vase to the Kleophon painter,[5] but some features of the drawing are foreign to his style; for example, the bearded man and the two left-hand youths on the reverse find their nearest parallels among the works of his pupil and close follower the Dinos painter.[6] The physical proportions of certain figures, their poses and gestures, all reinforce this affiliation; the Kleophon painter generally draws heads with a long nape to the neck and a great breadth from neck to face, with a lofty forehead and a firm mouth and chin; one has a strong impression that he consciously aimed at an air of nobility and moral elevation. His figures, dignified and restrained, almost seem at times to have taken root, so firmly do they plant their feet.[7] By contrast the people depicted by the Dinos painter have a head with a more rounded skull, a shorter line from forehead to nose, a weaker chin; often the eye is more deep-set. These characteristics combine to give them an air of softness and easy living,[8] which is enhanced by their attitudes and the position of their limbs; once again, the effect appears to be deliberate. It is clear to which group our main picture belongs; the relaxed stance of the young man, with the marked protrusion

of the right hip, the easy inclination of the woman's head and above all the handclasp which emphasizes the emotional significance of the scene, provide further links with the Dinos painter.[9]

The analysis just given shows plainly that in style our pelike is intimately connected with the work of two artists who are normally regarded as master and pupil; the ties are so strong in either direction that the piece might indeed be thought to prove that the two are simply different phases in the development of one and the same man. However, the identity of the Kleophon and Dinos painters cannot be maintained, in view of the marked contrast between them in temperament and personality;[10] furthermore the quality of line on our vase shows a degree of uncertainty and a lack of assurance which are foreign both to the Kleophon painter and to the Dinos painter as hitherto known. The simplest explanation of the problem is that the vase was decorated by the Dinos painter, but in his apprentice days, about 425 B.C., before he had evolved his own style or gained full mastery over his brush, and at a period when he was still so much under his master's influence that at times he copied his exemplar line for line.

P. E. CORBETT

[1] Registration number 1951, 9–9, 1. Height, 34·2 cm. Maximum diameter, 26·3 cm. The vase is unbroken, but on the front the reserved area has crumbled in places. Attributed to the Kleophon painter by Miss Richter; the attribution accepted by Sir John Beazley (*Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, p. 968). A detailed photograph of the woman's head in Richter, *Attic Red-figured Vases*, fig. 108.

[2] Miss Richter in *J.H.S.* 72, 1952, p. 155.

[3] See *B.M.Q.* xvi, 1951, p. 20.

[4] Round all flesh except feet and hands, the woman's left forearm, and the young man's legs below the knee (its absence from his right arm is probably due to the disintegration of the surface at this point); for the staff and spearshaft; not at all around clothing, save for the back of the woman's head-band.

[5] For the woman, cf. *A.R.V.*, p. 784, no. 2; for the rendering of her eye, cf. Hephaistos, ibid., no. 27; for the young man, cf. no. 24; for the right-hand youth on the reverse, cf. the corresponding figures on nos. 12 and 33; for the patterns, cf. nos. 27 and 33.

[6] The bearded man, cf. the reverse of *A.R.V.*, p. 790, no. 7; for the short, curved lines which indicate the folds of drapery round the bent leg, cf. *A.R.V.*, pp. 790–1, nos. 2, 11, 13. The central figure of the reverse, *A.R.V.*, p. 791, no. 14, and p. 792, Manner of the Dinos painter, no. 3; a similar figure occurs among the works of the Kleophon painter (*A.R.V.*, p. 785, no. 26) but both details and proportions are different. The left-hand youth, characteristic of the Dinos painter and his group; cf. *A.R.V.*, p. 791, nos. 14 and 23; pp. 792–3, nos. 3, 4, 17.

[7] e.g. *A.R.V.*, pp. 784–5, nos. 2, 5–7, 12, 19, 27.

[8] e.g. *A.R.V.*, pp. 790–1, nos. 1, 6, 7, 13.

[9] For the youth, cf. *A.R.V.*, p. 790, no. 6; for the set of the woman's head and for the handclasp, cf. p. 791, no. 13, and contrast p. 784, no. 2; see also p. 793 Manner of the Dinos painter, nos. 17 and 18.

[10] The nature of the contrast can be appreciated by comparing the obverse of *A.R.V.*, p. 791, no. 13 with p. 784, no. 2, and the reverse with p. 785, no. 27.

THE FULLER BROOCH

THE late-Saxon niellöed silver disk-brooch, with figural and foliate designs, illustrated in Pl. xxx, has recently been acquired as part-gift, part-purchase from Captain A. W. F. Fuller (1952, 4–4, 1). The diameter of the brooch is 4·25 inches (113 mm.). It is an unusually important piece with a fairly long and chequered history, having been generally considered a fake, which it certainly is not. It was acquired in 1910 or earlier by Sir Charles Robinson, whose collection is said to have included some Spanish forgeries, and all that can be said about its provenance is that it came from an English dealer, probably either in London or in Leicester. Sir Charles himself published a photograph and description in the *Antiquary*, vol. 49, no. 10, 1910 (New Series vi), 268–9, and the piece has subsequently been mentioned in some notable publications,[1] but it has never been taken seriously and has generally been dismissed as a forgery. In view of this history the brooch has been subjected to a very thorough laboratory investigation by Dr. Plenderleith, and its authenticity established beyond doubt by various tests and observations which will be described in full elsewhere.

The fact that two other later-Saxon silver disk-brooches of the same general type, but very different in ornament and detail, have just been acquired by the Trustees (*B.M.Q.* xv. 74 and pl. xxxiii (*a*), and *B.M.Q.* xvii, no. 1, 15–16 and pl. v (*b*)) makes the acquisition of the Fuller brooch particularly opportune. Our knowledge of this rare class of brooch, and of the ornament of the ninth century, to which period it belongs, is notably increased. The Fuller brooch is the only specimen of its class that bears representations of the human figure, and these are important, partly because they provide an opportunity for comparison with human figures in manuscript decoration, and partly because of their significance. Indeed the iconography of this brooch is unique and of the greatest interest. The most plausible explanation of the five central figures yet put forward is that they represent the Five Senses. The wide-eyed staring figure which dominates the centre, whose eyes are very differently treated from those of the other full-face figures, would represent SIGHT, the prime sense by which the outer world is comprehended. It is possible that the intention was for SIGHT to be shown possessing the fruits of the Earth, represented by two conventional cornucopias; but on the other hand these need be no more than foliate sprays in the peculiar ninth-century foliage convention, the elements of which can be seen, for example, in the Ormside Bowl and on the back of the Alfred Jewel. The other Senses would be arranged around SIGHT as follows:

TASTE SMELL
SIGHT
HEARING TOUCH

Opposite each of the four subsidiary Senses are four roundels set in the open work border of the brooch. These groups of four roundels represent in each case a man, an animal, a bird, and a floral theme.

The fact that the subject of the Five Senses is not otherwise known in art before the seventeenth century does not make this explanation impossible. It cannot be claimed that it accounts for every detail of the iconography, and the view has not been given an unqualified approval by the Index of Christian Art at Princeton. However, the suggestions of Dr. Panofsky and others, for which we are very grateful, that perhaps the central figure is Terra Mater, Annus or Helios, surrounded by the four parts of the Earth or the four Seasons (schemes which are known in early mosaics and medieval manuscripts) do not seem any better. The four subsidiary figures do not appear to have any of the characteristic attributes of the Seasons or the four parts of the Earth, unless our figure FEELING can be thought to represent Winter warming his hands. They do however fit the roles of the Senses satisfactorily, if HEARING, that which shows a running figure with a hand raised towards the ear, may be taken as representing a man responding to a call.

The foliate details that fill up the backgrounds to the figures, and the principal motifs in the roundels, can all be paralleled in ninth-century metalwork, occurring variously, for example, in the Ormside Bowl, the Trewhiddle Hoard, the Aethelwulf and River Reno (Bologna) Rings, and the Wallingford Sword. The figure style finds its closest parallels in the early ninth-century Book of Cerne, where amongst other things the curious treatment of the ears may be seen. (Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, pl. lxviii, 4).

The impression that the brooch was a forgery was no doubt based upon the appearance of the front, which has been so heavily cleaned and burnished as to look modern. The reverse, however, with its vestiges of the attachment pin, is untouched, and gives clear evidences of considerable age. The two small holes at the top of the brooch appear to have been bored at a late date in its history, after the metal had become brittle, and presumably after the removal of the attachment pin and spring, which were deliberately removed at some stage, so that the disk might be suspended. A skin case was made for the disk so altered in the seventeenth or eighteenth century and this case came to the Museum with the brooch.

R. L. S. BRUCE-MITFORD

[1] A. W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture Before the Conquest*, 130; D. Talbot Rice, *English Art 871–1100*, 229.

THE HARMSWORTH 'ALICE'

THE British Museum has at last acquired, through the Friends of the National Libraries, a copy of the first issue of the first edition of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, which was published, probably on 4 July 1865, by Macmillan & Co. on commission, that is to say, at the author's risk. Two thousand copies were printed, and of these Dodgson gave away forty-eight, according to the statement of Mr. Charles Morgan in his book on *The House of Macmillan, 1843–1943*. But the British Museum received no copy, and, on 2 August 1865, Dodgson recorded in his diary that he had decided to suppress the edition. There is reason to believe that he took this decision at the request of Tenniel, who wrote later to one of the Dalziels, the engravers, 'Mr. Dodgson's book came out months ago, but I protested so strongly against the disgraceful printing that he cancelled the edition.' On 3 August 1865 Dodgson wrote about the book, probably to Tom Taylor, afterwards editor of *Punch*, 'We are printing it again as the pictures are so badly done.' Dodgson's bibliographer, Mr. S. H. Williams, not unreasonably regards these words as proof that the printing objected to was not that of the text but of the illustrations. On the other hand, Mr. Charles Morgan, using the archives of Macmillan & Co., states that Dodgson was dissatisfied with the printing of both the text and the illustrations. However this may be, Sir John Tenniel's objection to the state of the illustrations has caused some surprise, and Mr. S. H. Williams even expresses the opinion that the illustrations in the first edition are more clearly printed than those in the second. But in *The Bookman's Journal* for November 1921, Mr. G. H. Sargent says that the illustrations in the second edition are 'lighter and less inked' than those in the first edition, and there can be no doubt that this is true. A careful examination of the British Museum's recently acquired copy of the first edition reveals the probable grounds of Dodgson and Tenniel's objection. As a result of heavy inking and the use of an inferior paper, the type is in some places visible on the other side of the leaf, thereby impairing the appearance of the illustrations which are printed in the middle of the text. This defect was completely removed in the second edition, which Macmillan and Co. printed shortly after the suppression of this first issue of the first edition. (Curiously enough, a second issue of the first edition, consisting of a thousand copies of the original sheets with a new title-page, was published in America with the imprint of D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1866.) Dodgson was amply satisfied with the appearance of the second edition which he described as 'a perfect piece of artistic printing'. He certainly took the greatest trouble over the printing of the book, though few books give so strong an impression of effortless ease in writing.

Alice Liddell's presentation copy of the first issue of the first edition of *Alice* was bound in white vellum or imitation-vellum, but most, if not all, other copies

were bound in the scarlet cloth which Dodgson considered attractive for children. The volume is stamped with a design of Alice holding the pig on the front cover and a design of the Cheshire cat on the back. There were grave differences of opinion between Dodgson and his illustrator, Sir John Tenniel. For instance, Tenniel objected to the Walrus and Carpenter as 'an impossible combination' and Dodgson offered to substitute a baronet for the carpenter. Twenty years later Tenniel told Harry Furniss, the caricaturist, 'Dodgson is impossible! You will never put up with that conceited old Don for more than a week!' But, for all this, Dodgson and Tenniel formed an almost perfect combination. Tenniel's caricatures of English statesmen were generally kindly, even flattering; and he treated the inhabitants of Wonderland, except of course the Duchess, with the same indulgent tolerance.

The 1932 Lewis Carroll Exhibition at Columbia University contained nine copies of the first issue of the first edition of *Alice*, and the catalogue mentioned six other known copies, of which one was the copy now acquired by the British Museum. This copy bears on the fly-leaf the inscription 'Alice Fannie Thomas from the Author, 1867'. Alice Thomas's son, Mr. Philip Cambray, tells me that this inscription is almost certainly in his mother's handwriting. Her father, Francis or Frank Thomas, was a warehouseman in the 'Learned Side' wing of the Clarendon Press building in Walton Street, Oxford. It was in this building that the first edition of *Alice* was printed. The following quotation from a letter by Frank Thomas's granddaughter, Miss Nellie Ingle, is taken from an article by Mr. Warren Weaver in the *Princeton University Library Chronicle* for Autumn, 1951:

> Aunt and Mother used to say that when the copies of 'Alice' were being printed at the Press, odd papers were thrown out and Grandfather told Lewis Carroll he had a little girl, Alice, six years old, and might he use the pages for a book for her. He said 'No, I will give her a copy', which he did.

Miss Ingle's letter, although interesting as evidence that Alice Thomas's book was not a mere proof copy, stands in need of one correction, for Mr. Philip Cambray says that his mother, Alice Thomas, was born in December 1850, and therefore in 1867 was not six but sixteen or seventeen. He suggests that she was referred to as a little girl because she was the youngest of a very large family. On Christmas Eve, 1925, Alice Thomas, Mrs. Cambray as she then was, sold the book to Blackwell's who on 15 April 1926 sold it at Hodgson's, when it was purchased by Messrs. Quaritch. Quaritch were acting for Sir Leicester Harmsworth, in whose possession the book remained until his death. At Sotheby's on 26 March 1947 it was bought back by Quaritch and passed into the possession of H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester, whose book-plate it now bears. Now it has come finally to rest in the British Museum. Thus the history of the book from 1867 to the present day is known; but its history between 4 July

1865 and the date in 1867 when Dodgson presented it to Alice Thomas, remains a matter for conjecture.

On the front fly-leaf is inserted a well-known fragment of Dodgson's writing, apparently a postscript to a letter to Tom Taylor, which according to Williams and Madan's Bibliography of Dodgson was written on 10 June 1864. In this postscript, if such it is, Dodgson explains how he came to choose the title, surely by one word too long, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. This sheet of notepaper, sold as the property of an anonymous owner, was bought by Quaritch at Sotheby's for the sum of £130 on 17 December 1928; it must therefore have been after that date that it was inserted in Sir Leicester Harmsworth's copy of *Alice*. This seems to be the present extent of our knowledge about the greatly prized book. The binding of the spine of the book has been tightened and the cover cannot be said to be in good condition; otherwise it is in very fair state. R. G. LYDE

CHELSEA PORCELAIN VASE

THE vase here illustrated (Pl. xxxi), 13·5 inches high, which was recently acquired by the Museum (1952, 7–2, 1), is an unusual and important example of Chelsea porcelain of the gold-anchor period. It bears the gold anchor mark and is similar in style to the well-known vases with scenes from the death of Cleopatra (*Catalogue of English Porcelain*, ii. 28), which are known to have been made in 1762 and which were given to the Museum by an anonymous donor in the following year. It is of pronounced rococo form, the scrollwork being picked out in pink and bluish green and, as in the two vases of similar shape in the Jones Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum (*Catalogue*, nos. 172 and 172A), between the feet are branches of imitation coral. On one side of the vase are painted exotic birds of the familiar type; on the other are a group of three Dutch boors carousing. The subject is treated in the manner of Brouwer or Ostade, but it may well be an original composition by an English porcelain-painter. The way in which the interior of the lid is notched into the vase shows that the birds were intended to figure on the front of the vase, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the figure—subject with its unusual treatment was added by a decorator working outside the factory.

In this connexion it is interesting to note the following quotation from J. E. Nightingale's *Contributions Towards the History of Early English Porcelain* (1881), pp. xl, xli:

> The effects of Queen Charlotte were sold by auction by Mr. Christie in May, 1819. The following examples of Chelsea porcelain were included in the sale: . . . A very large pear-shaped vase of old Chelsea, with scalloped arabesque ornaments and pierced necks, the front painted with a group of smokers, birds and landscapes on the reverse. 19 *l.*, *Baldock*.

WILLIAM KING

RECENT ACQUISITIONS OF ISLAMIC POTTERY

THE collection of early medieval Islamic pottery has been much strengthened by the acquisition of six important pieces from the collection of Sir Ernest Debenham, Bart.,[1] and five others said to have been found at Nīshāpūr in Persia.

The early lustre ware of the 'Abbasid period was poorly represented in the collection so that the two new acquisitions are particularly welcome. The earlier is a bowl of buff-coloured earthenware decorated in two shades of lustre, yellow, and brown, and was found at Nīshāpūr (Pl. XXXII *b*). With its 'herring-bone' and 'eye' decoration, it belongs to a group of lustre-painted pottery almost certainly made in 'Iraq; many fragments have been found at Sāmarrā on the Tigris. The finest example is the lustre tiles in the Great Mosque at Kairawan where they were sent from Mesopotamia about 862 A.D. An unusual feature of our bowl is the inscription 'al-mulk', 'sovereignty' reserved in white on the inside rim. A rather later example of 'Abbasid lustre ware is a small jug from the Debenham collection (v. *Survey of Persian Art*, vol. V, pl. 576 B, and *Guide*, illus. 12) which may be assigned to the tenth century. The clay is similar to that of the bowl. It has a globular body, a tall funnel-shaped neck, and a delicately moulded handle with vertical thumb-piece. The shape seems to be unknown in pottery of the period though it is fairly common in glass; and among the glass fragments from Sāmarrā in the Department's collection are a number of glass handles with vertical thumb-pieces. The decoration consists of the 'eye' motive around the neck and a procession of peacocks around the body and is painted in a pale olive lustre.

While lustre decoration was a unique contribution by the Muslim potters, the latter were stimulated into imitating Chinese pottery and porcelain which at this period was being imported into the Islamic world. Even here the Near Eastern potters produced distinctive wares. A straight sided bowl of reddish clay also comes from Nīshāpūr. The outside and inside are decorated with yellow, green, and aubergine, splashed over a white slip in imitation of the T'ang mottled wares. But the decoration of our bowl has a further element not found in the latter, a pattern lightly incised through the white slip consisting of a trellis in the centre from which radiate alternating oval and nicked petals with scrolls in the interstices. It may well have been made in Khurasan, as it is probable that this ware was made at many centres in the Near East. Our bowl is similar to pieces excavated by the American expedition in Nīshāpūr and so is probably of ninth-century date.

As far as we know lustre ware was not produced in the eastern lands of the Caliphate. The pottery centres of Khurasan and Transoxiana were producing a distinctive type of pottery decorated in coloured slips under a colourless lead glaze.

We have acquired three new specimens of this ware, all from Nīshāpūr. A straight-sided bowl of reddish clay (illustrated in Arthur Lane's *Early Islamic Pottery*, London 1947, on pl. 15A) is covered with a white slip under a colourless glaze on the outside. A Kufic inscription in black on a white ground runs around the inside, while the centre is plain save for a single word. Another straight-sided bowl with a vertical rim (diameter 7⅛ in.) has a white slip under a colourless glaze on the inside and outside. The outside rim has a frieze of ovals in brown-black outline, each with a similar coloured spot in the centre. The inside decoration is also in a brown-black slip and consists of vertical strokes around the rim above an inscription in foliated Kufic. In the interspaces between the tall letters are filling patterns of dots enclosed by contour lines; in the centre of each is a spot surrounded by a circle. The middle of the bowl has the figure of a long-beaked bird also enclosed by a contour line. The filling patterns and the bird are lightly washed with yellow. These two bowls would appear by the character of their writing to date from not earlier than the tenth century when Nīshāpūr was the capital of Khurasan, which, in 901, became a province of the Sāmānid rulers of Transoxiana. They are obviously related to the slip-painted ware of Transoxiana, fragments of which have been discovered at Afrasiab near Samarkand.

The third piece of slip ware from Nīshāpūr is a small straight-sided bowl (diameter 6 in.) and its decoration is similar in design to that of the fragmentary bowl found at Nīshāpūr and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (illustrated in *Bulletin of Metropolitan Museum*, vol. xxxii, 1937, fig. 10). The latter is assigned on archaeological grounds to the first half of the ninth century. Our bowl is decorated with white rosettes on a brown-black slip. Each rosette has a light brown centre with three green spots arranged in a 'heart shape' pattern. Between the rosettes are what appear to be formalized eagles with outspread wings. It is not unlikely that these three pieces are products of Khurasan: their shape and style of decoration accord with the excavated finds from Nīshāpūr while yet another point of similarity is the foot-ring which in section has a sharp angle between it and the body, a characteristic feature of Nīshāpūr pottery.

Towards the end of the twelfth century Muslim potters discovered how to paint in glaze colours under an alkaline glaze. Hitherto polychrome painting had been carried out in coloured slips under a transparent lead glaze. The city of Kāshān, north of Isfahān, rose to prominence as a pottery centre and from the end of the twelfth to the beginning of the fourteenth century was producing lustre decorated wares and others painted in underglaze colours. The Department has acquired two fine examples of the latter ware, both from the Debenham collection. One of these (illustrated in *Survey of Persian Art*, vol. v, pl. 734B) is a bowl on a high foot-ring decorated in black and blue under a colourless glaze.

An inscribed band reserved in white on black contains the date of when the bowl was made, Dhu'l-Hijja 610 A.H. = 1214 A.D. Apart from its importance as a dated document, by its style of decoration it is a link between the lustre wares of Kāshān and a group of blue and black wares attributed for this reason to Kāshān. Our other example (illustrated here on Pl. XXXII *a*) is a flattish dish (diameter 12·3 in.) decorated with floral motives and arabesques outlined in black and reserved in white on a blue ground. A similar composition is to be seen on a series of wall tiles dated 1262/3 A.D. from the Imamzadeh Yaḥya at Veramin, some of which are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. In these tiles, too, the design is reserved in white though on a lustre ground.

By the end of the thirteenth century a Mongol Dynasty was established in western Persia and 'Iraq. New patrons introduced new fashions to which the potters had to submit. The new taste in pottery design can be seen in the wares produced in the region around the present site of the City of Sultānābād. One type is painted under a clear glaze in blue and black. A good example is an albarello (height 13·1 in.) from the Debenham collection (*Guide*, illus. 13).[1] It is similar to the albarello in the Victoria and Albert Museum (*Survey of Persian Art*, vol. v, pl. 777) though each of the heart-shaped cartouches of our albarello contains a lotus flower among foliage. Another type is decorated in white slip outlined in black so that the design appears in relief against the natural grey background. A bowl (diameter 8·3 in.) of this kind from the Debenham collection (*Guide*, illus. 15) has in the centre a seated Mongol figure against a background of lotus blossoms and floral sprays. A frieze of flying cranes and finches surrounds this central medallion. The outside is decorated with round-headed arcades in white.

The sixth acquisition from the Debenham collection (*Guide*, illus. 8) is a fine ewer (height 11·6 in.) of the ware known as 'lājvardina'. Its upturned spout, the raised boss in the form of a rosette decorating the neck and the handle provided with a thumb-piece are certainly derived from the Persian metal ewer of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries; except that our ewer has a globular body. It is decorated over a deep cobalt glaze in white and red enamels with touches of gold-leaf. Circles and quatrefoils in white have fillings of red and gold-leaf arranged to form petals. The interspaces are filled with tiny white scrolls, while around the underside of the body arcades in white radiate from the foot-ring. It may date from the beginning of the fourteenth century and perhaps also comes from the Sultānābād region where certain types of 'lājvardina' were made.

R. PINDER WILSON

[1] Five are illustrated in the *Guide to the Collection of Early Islamic Pottery* lent to the City of Stoke on Trent Museum and Art Gallery, Hanley, by Sir Ernest Debenham, Bart., published in 1949; this publication is referred to here as *Guide*.

a *b*

XXVII. *a*. WOODEN STATUETTE OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM
b. BASALT STATUETTE OF THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

XXVIII. A RED-FIGURED PELIKE

Main Scene

a

b

c

d

e

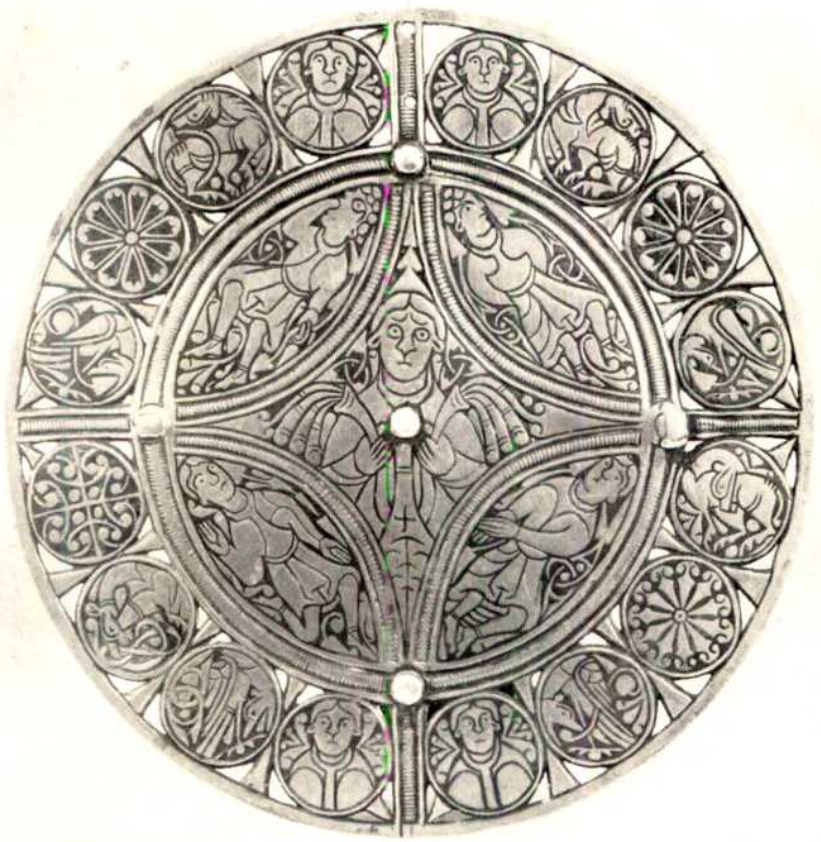
f

g

h

XXIX. A RED-FIGURED PELIKE

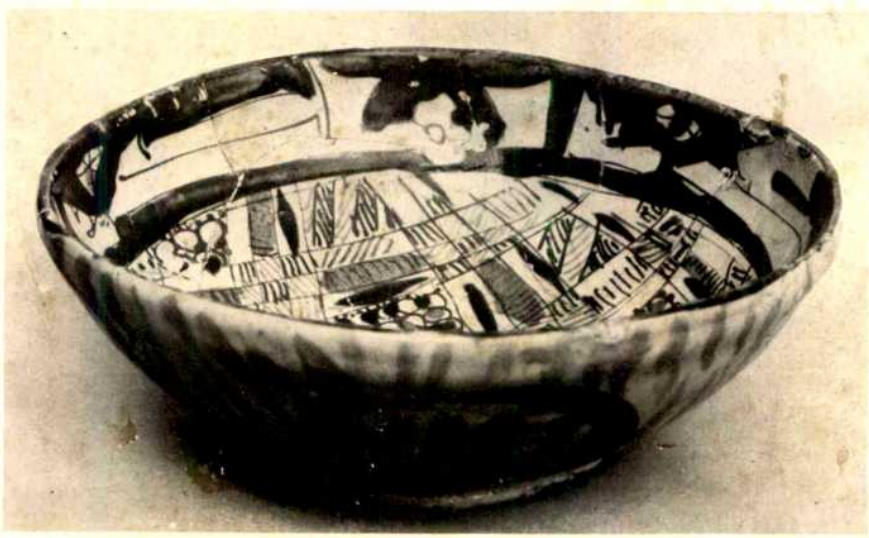
a–c. Details of Main Scene
d, e. Handle Ornament
f–i. Reverse



XXX. THE FULLER BROOCH

XXXI. CHELSEA PORCELAIN VASE

a



b

XXXII. *a*. DISH DECORATED IN BLUE AND BLACK: PERSIAN, ABOUT 1260 A.D.
b. BOWL DECORATED IN LUSTRE: MESOPOTAMIAN, ABOUT 850–900 A.D.